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OCTOBER, 1901.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

A HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.



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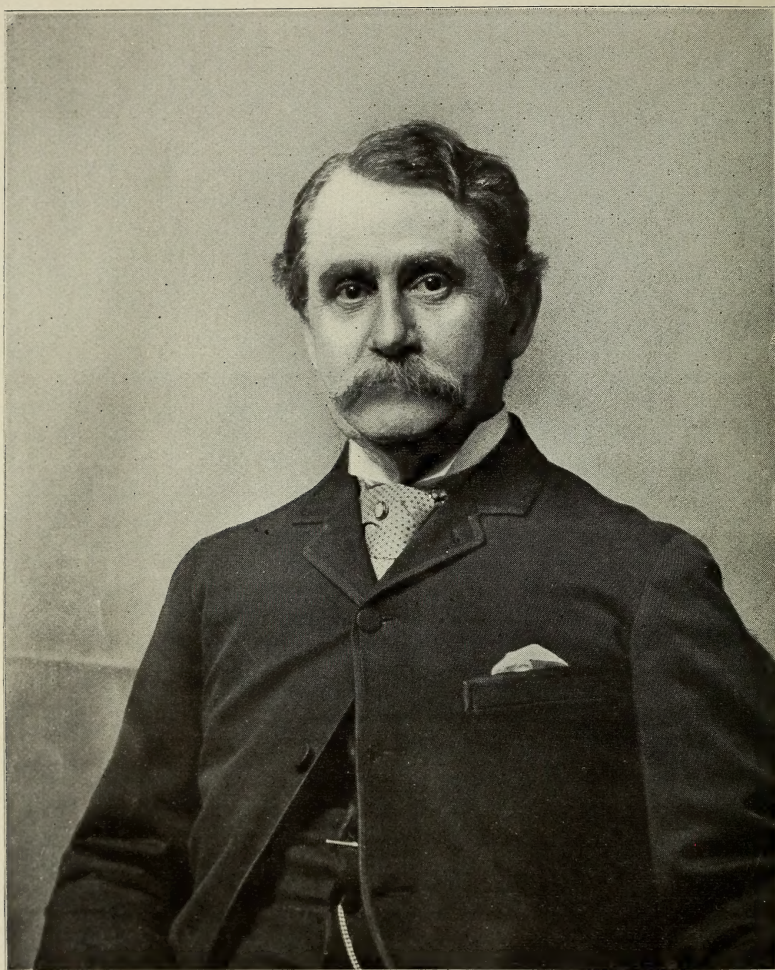
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Always Sincerely Yours

G. H. Yewell

GEORGE HENRY YEWELL, N. A.
Artist—Portrait painter.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. V, No. 3.

DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1901.

3D SERIES.

REMINISCENCES OF CHARLES MASON.

BY GEORGE H. YEWELL, N. A.

PART I.

My acquaintance with Charles Mason began at Iowa City, my boyhood home, in December, 1848. Born October 24, 1804, he had recently passed his forty-fourth year, and I was just nearing my eighteenth birthday. In the previous month of January, Judge Mason, together with William G. Woodward and Stephen Whicher, had been appointed by the legislature, commissioners to prepare a code of laws for the State of Iowa, and were then holding a session at the old Capitol building in Iowa City. Judge Mason's attention had been directed to me through certain rude political and local caricatures, the work of my youthful pencil, in which some strong exaggerations of character, and ridiculous situations appealed to a native sense of humor that he always manifested in a quiet way. He came one day to our house and left word for me to call upon him at his hotel, and bring with me some of my drawings for him to look over. His colleague, Mr. Woodward, whom I had known from early boyhood, was in the room when I presented myself, and introduced me to Judge Mason, whose dignity of bearing impressed me strongly, while, at the same time, I was drawn to him by a kindliness of manner and an evident desire to befriend and help me. He examined my boyish efforts in pencil and water-color, and told me, finally, if I would like to become a painter, and would let him have some of my drawings, he would show them to some artists in Washington, where he was going in

the following spring, and whose opinions he would get as to my apparent fitness for the study of art. I selected some of those I considered best for the purpose and gave him, and he told me at parting that when he returned to Iowa City he would let me know the result of his inquiries.

More than two years went by before I saw Judge Mason again. My leisure time, as before, was given to drawing and painting in my erratic and unskilled way. An incident occurred in the meantime, that had an influence in setting the current of my life strongly toward the pursuit of painting as a profession. In the summer of 1850 the American Art Union of New York appointed Mr. Joseph T. Fales one of their honorary secretaries, and sent him copies of all the engravings they had issued up to that time. These he placed upon the walls of his office in the Capitol building, he being, at the time, State Auditor. I spent many a summer afternoon dreaming over those engravings. The large one, from Cole's "Voyage of Life," where the aspiring youth in the boat grasps the rudder in one hand and stretches the other forth eagerly toward the bright cloud-temple in the sky, awoke all the latent love for art in me, and made me resolve to become a painter.

In February, 1851, Judge Mason called upon me again and told me that my sketches shown to several Washington painters had seemed to them to indicate enough talent to warrant my taking up painting as a serious study. He told me he was going to New York in May and, if I wished, he would make inquiries with reference to my establishment there as a student of art. He was on the point of leaving Iowa City, and I could write to him at his home in Burlington, Iowa, when my decision was made. This I did, later, and received in answer to that, and other letters, the following replies:

BURLINGTON, May 6, 1851.

Dear Sir: Yours of April 27th was received a few days since but my business engagements have prevented me from answering it sooner. I am expecting to go east some time in June, but may possibly not go at all. If

I go I shall not neglect your business, and if I do not go, I will write to a friend in New York in relation to the matters on which you wish enquiries made.

I fully appreciate the difficulties in your way, having had to contend against them once myself. But they are not insuperable as the history of so many men in our country clearly proves. A resolute determination can overcome all the obstacles which are so thickly strewed in the pathway of genius. In fact, I am sometimes inclined to think that these very obstacles are a final advantage. Else why do we find so few instances of persons born to every advantage who finally attain eminence in any attainment? Effort, labor, the exertion of our energies are as necessary to give strength and full development to our moral and intellectual as to our physical persons. Nothing but necessity will in any case fully call forth those energies and efforts.

I am by no means sorry to learn of your attachment to the West, and to the manners and habits of its people. Ambition is despicable where it can only be indulged in at the expense of the affections. But a residence of a few years in the east are, I think, necessary to enable you to develop capabilities which I think you possess. It will give new relish to your taste for western life, and will enable you the more fully to appreciate our advantages—our freedom from the restraints of fashion and custom, and the superiority of rural pleasures to those within the reach of the denizens of the metropolis.

I hope to be able to ascertain something of interest and advantage to you during my absence. Write me further when anything suggests itself that may be serviceable to you. I think I shall start about the middle of June.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

BURLINGTON, July 4, 1851.

My Dear Sir: I have delayed to answer your last letter for the reason that I was not altogether certain whether I should be able to go to New York or not. I have now so arranged my business that, unless something unexpected shall prevent, I shall start on Thursday of next week. I shall make a short stop at Pompey, Onondaga county, New York, and then proceed to the city, where I shall not forget to make enquiries for you. If you have anything further to suggest you can write to me either here or at Pompey, if done soon.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

NEW YORK, August 7, 1851.

My Dear Sir: I arrived here this morning and have been to see several persons in your behalf. I called on Mr. Durand, but he was in the country and would not return for several days. I shall stay but two days in all as my time is short, before I must return West.

Among others I have talked with Mr. Bryant, the poet, and with Mr. Ingham, the painter. They both assure me that there will be no difficulty in your getting admission into the Academy of Design. Mr. Ingham assured me that this was your best chance.

The session commences in November (about the first), and continues till March. You will attend only evenings, and will receive instruction gratuitously. (I understood him that you would be engaged some part of the time in making drawings from plaster casts). Your only expense will therefore be for your board, clothing, &c. Mr. Ingham was of the opinion that those students who had difficulties of a pecuniary character to encounter succeeded best,—where those difficulties were not insurmountable. He thinks you had better come down and spend one winter in this way. You can then tell whether you would wish to continue longer, and they can decide as to your capacity and talent as an artist. You would not be losing much, as a few months spent in New York would perhaps be of service to you in other respects.

I do not think you will like New York much, but you will be able to endure it for a few months. Before I close this I will endeavor to ascertain what the probable expense for board and washing will be. My impression is that you can get board for about \$3.00 per week, and washing for six cents per piece. Mr. Ingham says that after the first winter you will probably be able to pay your way by laboring at your profession as an artist. He kindly proffered his services in your behalf, and I think he meant what he said—which is not always true of such proffers.

AUGUST 10. I left New York yesterday morning, and am now in the western part of Massachusetts, from whence I shall start tomorrow for Onondaga county, and thence, after about a week or two, I shall leave for Iowa. I expect to be at home by the last of this month.

Since writing the first part of this letter I have made further enquiries for you and ascertain that the price of board will fall something short of the price mentioned above.

I have also had a conversation with a young gentleman who has been pursuing the same course as that you are contemplating. He was engaged in other pursuits till he had attained to about your age. When he commenced in New York he placed himself under the tuition of an artist to whom he had to pay fifty dollars per quarter. After the first quarter he was able to support himself by his profession. He seems a gentleman of sincerity and truth, and will give you any aid in his power.

I do not suppose I shall be in Iowa City soon, having now been absent so much that I shall be obliged to attend to my matters at home for a while after my return. Write to me at Burlington by the time I return. If you could make it convenient to come down early in October and obtain a little instruction previous to the opening of the Academy of Design it would be all the better. Let me know what you think of this matter.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEORGE H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

On receiving this last letter I consulted with friends in Iowa City, who had known me from childhood, regarding the advancement of sufficient money to pay my fare to New York, and get me through my first winter there. This was done cheerfully. A sum was handed me, the result of many small contributions, sufficient for present needs, with promise of more when that was gone. Some useful letters to New York people were given me, and I only awaited further instructions from Judge Mason, which came in the following letter:

BURLINGTON, August 31, 1851.

Dear Sir: I returned home yesterday and found yours of the 24th awaiting me. I am highly gratified to learn of your final determination, and particularly with the spirit with which you are about to commence your arduous undertaking. I entertain great hopes that you may attain high eminence in your profession.

I send you a letter of introduction to Mr. A. H. Dana, whom you will find at No. 27, Wall street. His office is in the third story. He will be able and willing to render you assistance in the way of information and advice.

I send you another letter to Wm. Thurston Black, the artist of whom I wrote in my last letter. He was at No. 74 Chambers street, but will be found at the Academy of Design, probably, before you reach New York. He was introduced to me by Mr. Dana, who can aid you in finding him if you have any difficulty on that subject. He seemed to me an honest, candid, right-hearted gentleman, and as he has traveled the same road you are about commencing, he will be able to give you much useful information.

Mr. Ingham resides in White street—I think at No. 76. You will meet with no difficulty in finding him. I do not remember his Christian name. I have no acquaintance with him except a self-introduction, but he kindly proffered to aid you in getting an admission into the Academy of Design. I did not learn whether they received every one who applied, but felt certain from what I learnt from him and Mr. Black, that you would meet with no difficulty in gaining admission there.

Mr. Black seemed to think that a few weeks' previous instruction would be of great service to you. He will give you that instruction himself, or recommend you to some other person who will do so. You will probably not do better than to employ his services as instructor, if you should conclude on that course. On this subject you can best determine what to do after you shall have reached New York.

I am glad you think of going soon, as I believe it will be important for you to reach there several weeks before the opening of the Academy. By placing yourself under a judicious instructor for that length of time I think you will be better prepared to derive full benefit from your opportunities at the Academy.

I know not that I have but one single piece of advice to give you, and that is to take some care as to your diet and much as to your exercise after your arrival in New York. Young men living in the country or in country towns generally take sufficient exercise for their health without being conscious of its necessity. Going into such a place as New York all ordinary opportunities for exercise will be wanting, and the loss of health may be your first admonition that you have not observed those laws which can secure its continued enjoyment. Unless you find some other kind of exercise do not fail to walk six or eight miles each day regularly.

I should be glad to hear from you when you get settled down in New York, if not before. If you ever have occasion for fifty or one hundred dollars let me know as I shall be very glad to make you some advances of that kind that I may secure some of the specimens of your skill as an artist after you have attained that excellence to which you aspire and which I believe you will attain.

I think you do right in selecting the northern route. A little more than forty-eight hours will carry you from Chicago to New York City by the way of Albany, and a less time by the Erie railroad, which will, I suppose, be your best way if opportunity favors you.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, Iowa City, Iowa.

It is my purpose in giving these letters to the public to keep myself, as much as possible, in the background, that they may tell their own story. It will be necessary, however, to connect them by such personal incidents and occurrences as may be needed to explain their contents. I left Iowa City on the morning of October 4, 1851, and traveled by stage coach to within about thirty miles of Chicago, making the remainder of the journey by rail, arriving in New York on the morning of the 9th.

Through Judge Mason's letter I found an excellent and helpful friend in Mr. Wm. Thurston Black, who assisted me in many ways. The other letter to A. H. Dana, Esq., was instrumental in procuring me a note of introduction to his relative, Mr. Charles A. Dana, then assistant editor of *The New York Tribune*, who talked encouragingly to me and gave me a letter to his friend Thomas Hicks, the artist, who, a little later received me as a pupil. At the same time I entered the antique school of the National Academy of Design, and settled myself down to a winter of serious study.

The next letter was directed to No. 191 Grand street, New York, where, in an old-fashioned brick house on the corner of Mulberry street, I had found good homelike board and lodging for the modest sum of two dollars, sixty-two and one-half cents per week.

BURLINGTON, January 25, 1852.

My Dear Sir: My apology for not sooner replying to yours of November last is in part that my time has been unusually occupied, and in part that I have been somewhat expecting to visit the east this winter on business. All expectation of such a visit is now at an end for the present.

I am very much rejoiced to hear that you are so well pleased with your prospects in the city, and that you have found some good friends there. I am anxious to hear from you again since you have been for some time in attendance at the Academy of Design. I hope all your expectations will be realized. I take great interest in your success, and am expecting something extraordinary as the result of your studies and efforts. Let nothing dishearten you. The pursuit is a noble one. I trust you will strive to stand in the first rank among artists. In your profession, as in all others, there must frequently be causes and occasions of discouragement, but perseverance and determination will be sure to carry you through triumphantly, if your health does not fail you.

On this subject you must take much care. The change in your condition and habits of life are so great that there is danger of ill consequences unless great care is used. Your health will be most likely to suffer from want of exercise. You can have little of this in any other way than walking. I would recommend that you set apart a portion of every day for this purpose. The last year I spent in the city I walked eight miles regularly each day, and have no doubt I derived great benefit from it. Perhaps you would not need as much exercise, but you must not fail to take a pretty liberal amount of it.

How are your financial affairs? Let me know whether you need anything on that score. Your expenses are not great, but I hope you will not deny yourself anything necessary to your progress in your studies.

We have had rather a severe winter—the coldest January I have ever known. On the morning of Monday, the 19th instant, the thermometer stood at a little more than 26° below zero. It has stood at 20°, 19°, 16½° and 15° on four other mornings at different times, besides many other times when it was below zero. It is warm now.

Remember me to Mr. Black and Mr. Dana if you see them, and thank them for me for their kindness to you.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL, No. 191 Grand street, New York City.

The accumulation of letters becomes so great at times

that I get a destructive fit upon me, and often carry the destruction too far. I am sorry to record the fact that every letter from Judge Mason, written during the remainder of my student days in New York, has been destroyed, leaving a period of nearly five years without anything from his hand. They were busy years for me, full of ambition and hope, with a growing desire each year to go and study in Europe. The opportunity finally came, through Judge Mason, in the summer of 1856, and it was settled that I should go abroad, in a letter I received from him May 29th of that year, in which he also invited me to spend a month with them at Washington before I sailed. He was at that time Commissioner of Patents, having been appointed to that office by President Pierce. I had a delightful visit with them extending over four weeks, and their kindness to me will never be forgotten. Their young daughter, Mollie, with her birds, her flowers, and her books, was the light of the household. I bade them good-bye July 5th and returned to New York. In company with a fellow student I sailed for Liverpool July 19th, in the packet ship James Foster, Jr., of the Black Ball Line. We spent a week in Scotland, four days in London, and then went to Paris where we entered the *atelier* of Thomas Couture, one of the most eminent painters of that day. He was working upon a large painting commissioned by the French government, and in my letters to Judge Mason I had described this important picture with more or less enthusiasm. This, no doubt, led to the well-meaning but injudicious suggestion of our mutual friend, Mr. Wood, as shown in the next letter.

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1856.

My Dear Sir: Our friend, Mr. Wood, a few days since suggested that you might probably obtain an order for a painting to place in one of the vacant panels of the capitol. I had thought that you would in a few years justly look for such an order, but I did not suppose that you would venture to make an effort of this kind now. Mr. Wood, however, thinks it not too soon for you to try your hand in that way, and desired me to consult with you on that subject. He had already spoken with Captain Meigs on the subject.

Now, if you think you have the courage to make such an attempt, I will try to obtain an order for you to that effect. Mr. Wood's opinion is of weight.

He proposes that you should select some proper subject of American history and prepare a suitable drawing. That being forwarded here could be laid before the proper committee and, if approved, would call for an order to paint the picture.

Now, if you have the courage to make such an undertaking, and will send me on the sketch of what you would propose to paint, I will take the matter in hand and obtain the order for you if I can. Having got the order you can take your time to make the painting.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

MR. GEO. H. YEWELL,

Care of Messrs. Greene & Co., Bankers, Paris, France.

Not unconscious of my inexperience, yet with my youthful ambition fired by the greatness of the occasion, I decided to make a bold attempt to secure a government commission, if possible, and then make all my studies bend in the direction of the subject I might choose, wisely deferring the painting of the large canvas to a future day. After long deliberation I chose for my subject "The First Prayer in Congress," and wrote to Judge Mason to get for me whatever description there might be of the event, and any historic data that would aid in the making up of a picture. The thoroughness with which he fulfilled my request is shown in the next letter, and is characteristic of the man:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4, 1857.

My Dear Sir: Since the receipt of your letter I have been trying to gather up the information you requested, and shall give you the result of my inquiries. I have now in my possession the Journal of the Congress of 1774 from which I gather the following facts in the most authentic shape. Congress met on the 5th of September, and dissolved itself on the 26th of October following. The Congress of 1775, which finally declared independence, was a new body, though composed to a considerable extent of the same members.

The whole number of members present in 1774 was fifty-three, but at the time of the prayer by Mr. Duche there was only forty-six. Seven members reported themselves and were admitted afterwards.

On Tuesday, September 6th, a resolution was adopted inviting the Rev. Mr. Duche to open the session at Carpenter's Hall next morning with prayer, which was done on the 7th. Up to that time the following-named

members had reported themselves and taken their seats. They were probably all in attendance on that morning:

New Hampshire—Major John Sullivan, Col. Nathaniel Folsom.

Massachusetts—Hon. Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island—Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Hon. Samuel Ward.

New Jersey—James Kinney, Wm. Livingston, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith.

Connecticut—Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Hon. Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New York—James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, Col. William Floyd.

Pennsylvania—Hon. Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhodes, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, Edward Biddle.

Delaware—Hon. Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read.

Maryland—Robert Goldsborough, William Pace, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson Gun.

South Carolina—Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Christopher Gadsam, Thomas Lynch, Edward Rutledge.

Virginia—Hon. Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee.

At a subsequent day the following gentlemen reported themselves and were admitted:

New York—John Alsop, Henry Wisner, Simon Boerum.

Pennsylvania—George Ross.

North Carolina—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, R. Caswell.

You are probably aware that Peyton Randolph was the first President of Congress, having been elected on September 5th, the first day of the session.

Carpenter's Hall is so called because it was constructed as a place of meeting for the Society of House Carpenters. It is not the same place as Independence Hall where the Declaration of Independence was made. It is now used as an auction room. I shall endeavor to send you before long a photograph of it.

I have sent to Philadelphia for an engraving of Matteson's painting, and hope to get it soon, but thought I would not wait for these photographs. I am promised a photograph of the Rev. Mr. Duche which I hope to be able to send you at the same time. I will also, if I can, send you a likeness of Patrick Henry, who should receive a prominent position in your painting. He is represented on the occasion of this meeting of Congress as being clad in a plain suit of "minister's gray," with empowdered wig, and as having the appearance of a country parson.

As to the religious notions of the members of Congress I can learn little. I am told, however, by Mr. Lossing, the author of the "Field Book of the Revolution, a History of the United States," and some other works, that there were no Quakers in that body. The Quakers were opposed to the movement. I presume he is right.

It is also stated in Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," in speaking of this first prayer in Congress that it was on this occasion that Gen. Washington was observed to be the only member who knelt, and Mr. Lossing made this objection to Matteson's picture,—that he had several members kneeling.

Lossing, in his "History of the United States," says in a note that Mr. Duche afterwards became a tory, but I know not on what authority he makes the statement. It detracts from the romance thrown around the scene as described by Irving, and I hope it is not true.

Mr. Duche was attended by his clerk when this prayer was made.

Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, was the secretary of Congress at that time, also.

Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Chase, and Roger Sherman should receive prominent positions, though not more so than the two Adamses.

In giving the names of the members of Congress, I have prefixed the titles given them in the Journal of Congress. All others have the appendage Esq. affixed to their names in that journal.

Mr. Wood will obtain the photograph of Trumbull's painting which I will send soon. Mr. Peale says that picture may be relied on for costume and somewhat so for portraits.

We are all well. The fourth of March is only four weeks distant when a new order of things will be introduced here. It is expected that the cabinet will be entirely changed. I shall probably not remain here many weeks after that date. I think I shall probably be allowed to remain if I choose. But I am pretty well satisfied with my residence in Washington, and think I shall prefer Iowa. This will be done at all events unless my situation is made more pleasant by some changes in the law now pending before Congress.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

G. H. YEWELL, Esq., Care of Messrs. Greene & Co., Bankers, Paris, France.

The next letter tells of the fate of the "First Prayer in Congress." Too presumptuous, I had sailed high, and the sun, for which I had aimed, had melted my waxen wings and let me down. The kind heart is shown in Judge Mason by the way he writes in explanation of my failure; and yet I think he liked me all the better for having made the attempt. "Nothing ventured, nothing gained." The subject of the treaty for the Black Hawk purchase is one that ought to be painted some day, by an artist fitted for that kind of work, upon one of the prominent spaces in the capitol building at Des Moines. I remember, when visiting Judge Mason at Burlington some years later, we spent an evening with Hon.

A. C. Dodge at his home, and the subject of the Black Hawk purchase coming up in conversation, Gen. Dodge gave me a very fine description of the *mise en scene* of that remarkable event, at the moment of signing the treaty.

The pictures mentioned in the letter were principally copies I had made, as matter of study in color, from very beautiful paintings by modern French masters. The original of the "Falconer" was a gem of modern art, painted by my master, Couture, and one of his most admired productions.

BURLINGTON, May 20, 1858.

My Dear Sir: I have waited till the present before answering your last letter written near three months since, in order that I might give you some information respecting the paintings. On my return from Washington on Saturday last I found the paintings all safe. They came a few days previous. I have retained the "Falconer," "Paul and Virginia," and the "Fortune Teller." The rest I have sent to Hon. John P. Cook for him, if he chooses to retain the "Trooper" and the "Drawing Lesson," and to send the other two to Iowa City. I saw Mr. Cook some five weeks since and he requested me to send him one or two of the paintings. I wrote him at the same time that if he chose to take the "Fortune Teller" he could do so. I also made suggestions respecting the portfolio of sketches, and hope you will receive some orders from Davenport. I have been to Washington twice this winter and spring on business and may, very possibly, be obliged to go again, though I hope not. I have, of late, been more busily occupied than I was in the Patent Office. I go this evening to Keokuk. During the week thus far I have been engaged in the United States District Court at this place. Next week I must devote to preparation for the celebration of the anniversary of the first settlement of this State. The Indians gave possession June 1, 1833. We have organized an association with a view of celebrating that event annually hereafter. This is our first celebration, and I have been requested to deliver the oration on the occasion.

I brought with me your sketch from Washington regretting very much that you did not obtain an order. The sketch is very fine, but I see at once that your failure to secure the favor you sought grew out of the difficulty of the subject you had selected. You could not give Washington the reverential attitude which comports with my ideas without concealing his features. I hope you will not be disheartened but try again.

I think you would do better with some wilder, western subject. It has occurred to me that the first treaty for the Black Hawk purchase, as it is called, would furnish you with a better subject. There should be in the panels in the House of Representatives something commemorative of an event in each of the states in the Union. An Iowa subject treated by an Iowa artist would be peculiarly appropriate. The stalwart form of Gen.

Scott, and the striking, manly face of Keokuk, with other proper surroundings might, it seems to me, be wrought up into something highly interesting and proper. These are historical characters, and should live on canvas in the House of Representatives.

I am very much pleased with your paintings. They show great improvement. "Paul and Virginia" is my favorite. The "Trooper" is very good and so are the others.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Care of Greene & Co., Bankers, Paris, France.

We now come to the time of the civil war. During that critical and unhappy period Judge Mason was sometimes most unjustly and cruelly accused of sympathy with the cause of rebellion. Nothing was ever farther from the truth. No more true-hearted patriot ever breathed than Judge Mason. He saw in the war the beginning of a hatred between the North and the South that would lead to the utter ruin of the republic that he loved with all the intensity of his strong, pure nature. Either that or a survival in the form of a military despotism equally to be deplored. His mental suffering was constant, and at times he was almost heartbroken. I am sorry that so many of his letters of that time are missing, for he wrote to me freely; and it has been to me a touching evidence of his friendship, more clearly discerned since his death, that he seemed always to take comfort in writing to me of that which lay near his heart. In the following letter there is, in his own words, a refutation of the charge of disloyalty, where he states that he had, long before, offered his services to the government. Such services would have been valuable from the fact that he had received a military education at West Point. Why he was overlooked or ignored when commanding officers of his capacity, integrity and high moral worth were needed by the nation, has always remained a mystery to me.

BURLINGTON, November 4, 1861.

My Dear Sir: Your last letter should have been long since answered, but circumstances which I will not take time to explain, but which you will in part understand, have prevented or caused me to procrastinate till the present.

I was in the west on business in April last when the first hostile shot was fired at Fort Sumter, leaving my wife and Mollie in Washington. Foreseeing the possibility of hostilities I had advised them to leave Washington as soon as the first gun should be fired in the south, believing as I then did that the next step would be to make a dash upon Washington. They accordingly left on the 18th of April and stayed over night in Baltimore, leaving for the north on the morning of the day of the great riot in that city and passing over the railroad bridges the very day before they were burned down. I returned from the west two days afterwards, and after much trouble and delay made my way to Washington, not knowing that they had left. After a few days I made my way north, where they remained through the summer, while I returned to Iowa. The Democratic party nominated me for Governor, but afterwards a third party, styling itself the Union party, proposed to unite with the Democrats and go for Col. Merritt, who had just returned from the war with the smell of gunpowder upon his garments, and thinking that in this manner the Republicans could more probably be beaten, I withdrew from the canvass. Many of our friends were dissatisfied with this and refused to vote for Merritt, and I am inclined to think that I should have done much better than he did, though I should doubtless have been beaten. There is probably a majority of 10,000 for the Republicans and against Merritt.

Our whole country is transformed into a military camp. Go into any of our towns and you see men in uniform moving about the streets, sometimes in companies or squads, sometimes singly or in numbers of two or more. A sort of martial law prevails all over the country. Men are arrested and thrown into prison on suspicion, and a writ of habeas corpus, which would never be disregarded in England, is laughed to scorn. Several of the states—especially Missouri, Kentucky and Virginia—are to a great extent laid waste. I know of no country on earth in a more deplorable condition than ours, and it does not seem to me to be improving. Men are flocking into the army from all quarters for the means of obtaining a livelihood. There are said to be half a million of men or more already in the service in the northern states, and nearly as many more in the south. There will be no difficulty in raising as many more if the means can only be provided to pay, feed and clothe them. I am heart-sick at the prospect before us, but hope, in some unlooked for way, we may escape from our present troubles without individual and national ruin, though the probability of such a result seems small. I have long since offered my services to the government whenever they are needed, but have not been called on and probably shall not be. I expect to spend the winter in Washington. My wife and Mollie are now here and may go with me, but that is not yet settled.

There is no sale for real estate. In fact, I have almost concluded to let some of mine be sold for taxes rather than pay them. I believe, however, I will pay a while longer if I can. I think you had better remain in Europe if you can obtain the means of making a livelihood, though I some-

what expect to see hostilities commenced between our country and France within the course of a few months.

And all this trouble which has been brought upon us is wholly needless. The abolitionists and the extreme southern men have succeeded in plunging the country into an abyss of ruin from which I fear all the conservative men of the north and the south will never rescue it.

My wife and Mollie send kind regards. We shall always be glad to hear from you.

Yours truly,

CHARLES MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, ESQ., 15 Rue Taitbout, Paris, France.

Between this and the next letter there intervenes a period of a little more than seven years. In August, 1867, I went to live in Rome, Italy, setting up a studio and making that my home for eleven years.

BURLINGTON, November 22, 1868.

My Dear Friend: Yours of the 29th of August was duly received and found me at this place a good deal out of health. I remained so for a month or two. The doctor at first pronounced the disease an organic affection of the heart, but afterwards changed his opinion and thought it a disguised bilious remittent fever. I am now quite well again. We have been living on the farm for near three months and I sometimes work nearly all day without any great fatigue. I start east in the course of a few days and shall probably spend most of the winter there—mostly in Washington. I had thought somewhat of making a journey to Europe this winter, and may possibly do so yet, but probably shall postpone that trip for the present. I shall more probably go south during a part of the winter, though that is still uncertain.

Politically everything is very quiet here since the election. The Democrats seem quite as well satisfied with the President-elect as do the radicals. The probabilities are that we shall hereafter more zealously support him than they will do. I have, however, no very bright hopes for the future. When our people refused to settle their differences of opinion by the exercise of those moral and intellectual faculties which had created our noble system of government, and substituted the exercise of their brutal propensities therefor, I had little hope for the future except through those long and bloody struggles by which law and liberty regain the ascendancy which military violence always tramples underfoot. I scarcely expect to ever see a constitutional government restored in this country. Grant may if he will become a second Washington, but that is hardly to be hoped for, judging by the examples afforded by the world's history. The military power will hardly yield again to the civil. Theoretically it will do so, but not practically. The army will govern us for many years to come, and the maxims and principles which prevail in Europe will be substituted for those which our fathers vainly hoped had been established here for all gen-

erations. The republican day-dreams of my youth and earlier manhood are at an end. A centralized government has taken the place of that of the federal constitution, and that central government must necessarily be imperial by whatsoever forms it is controlled. I am accommodating myself to this change as best I may.

We expect to settle down on the farm in the spring. We have thus far been only boarders. Things look very pleasantly here. The change from city life is not disagreeable, though most of our friends predict that we shall not relish it long. On many accounts I would prefer a residence in Washington, and it is not impossible that our present purpose may change before many months. My wife and daughter will probably remain in Burlington through the winter, or, at least, until my return, when we may visit the south some time in January, to return the latter part of March.

If you have not sent the painting mentioned in your letter I hope you will not do so until we become settled in our house, here or elsewhere, when I will write you again. Times are rather prosperous here at present. Prices are high. The farmers have been growing rich in name, but they find it quite as difficult to make the ends of the year meet as ever they did when their wealth was nominally far less than at present. The laboring classes get higher wages but find it more difficult to support their families than formerly. And when pecuniary troubles shall come, as come they must before many years, I look for serious troubles throughout the country.

I was much interested in your description of life and manners in Italy, and hope I shall one day be an eye witness of what you have so well described. When I can forget the future that I had pictured to myself for my own country, I may perhaps be brought to appreciate the advantages enjoyed under European governments, and learn that the true happiness of life is to be sought in the cultivation of those tastes and social virtues which flourish or are, at least, tolerated under a system wherein the people passively submit to whatever the government of which they have little control sees proper to do.

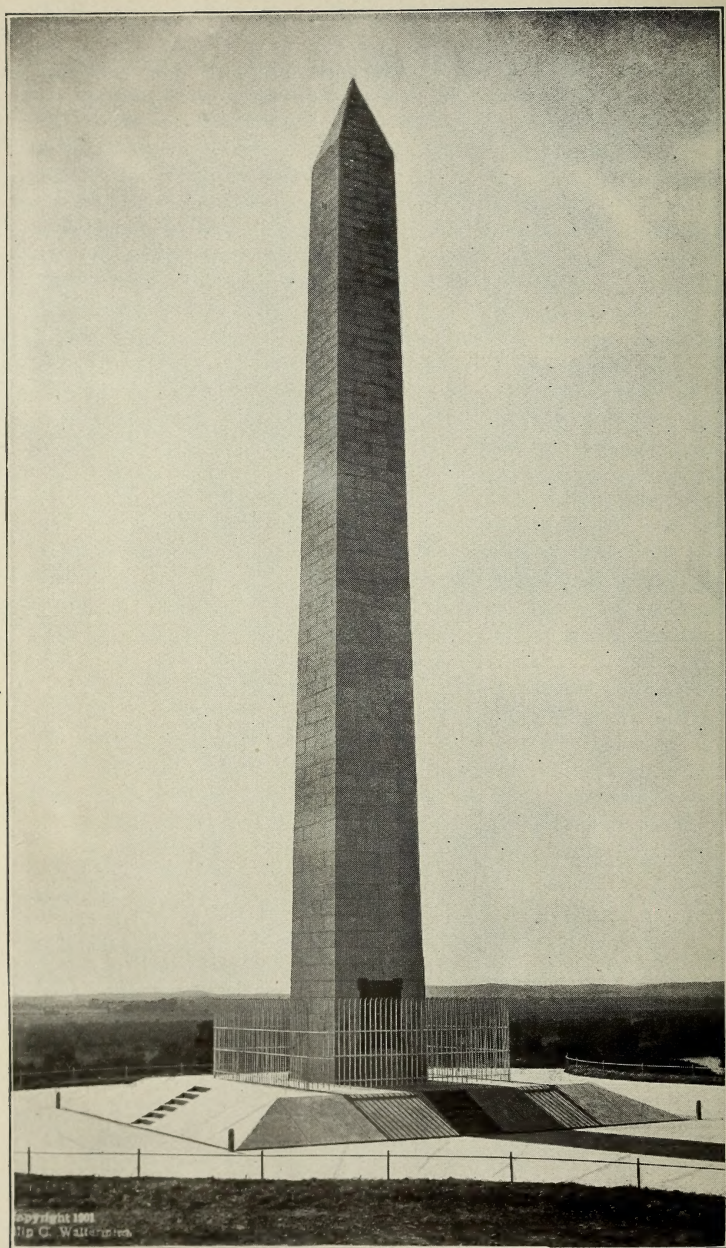
My wife and daughter join in sending love to yourself and your good wife, whom we hope to see at our house at no distant day, if not, in that land "where all but the spirit of man is divine." Yours truly,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.,

Care of Maquay, Packenham & Hooker, Rome, Italy.

Two large coils of telegraph wire were landed here this week. Certainly many more days cannot intervene before we are in communication with the cities of the Union.—*Democratic Enquirer (Bloomington, Iowa), August 19, 1848.*



THE FLOYD MONUMENT, ERECTED AT SIOUX CITY, IOWA,
AND DEDICATED MAY 30, 1901.

In commemoration of the acquisition of Louisiana and in honor of the first explorers and pioneers of the West.

THE EXPANSION OF THE REPUBLIC WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

BY HON. JOHN A. KASSON.

[Address at the dedication of the historic monument erected at Sioux City, Iowa, in commemoration of the acquisition of Louisiana and in honor of the first explorers and pioneers of the west, May 30, A. D. 1901.]

Fellow Citizens: The occasion which has brought this great assembly together evokes the memory of many important events in our national history. To all except the aged pioneer it seems impossible that only a century ago all the fair land we look upon from this eminence and all westward to the continental range of mountains was a desert, and under the dominion of despotic Spain; that all the land eastward to the Mississippi, as well as all toward the setting sun, was at that time, and had been for unrecorded ages, in possession of wild beasts and of savages of the human race.

Only ninety-seven summers have passed since a roving Indian standing on this highland would have witnessed a scene altogether new and strange to him. A barge 55 feet long, having a forecastle forward and a cabin aft, carrying 22 oars and a square sail, drew near this shore on its passage up the great river of the Missouri. It was accompanied by two smaller open boats; and altogether they carried about forty pale-faces, chiefly soldiers. A number of the men landed at the foot of this bluff and ascended it, bearing gently a burden which they deposited in a grave, and marked the spot with a rude cedar post. Upon its face was inscribed the name of Sergeant Charles Floyd of the United States army, who had died that day, August 20, 1804. No priest's prayer or blessing was heard; but certain simple honors of the military service broke the sad silence of the ceremony. After this solemn act these pale-faces descended the bluff to the boats; and the barge with its pirogues moved a mile up the river into the mouth of a tributary stream, then 30 yards wide, where the company camped for the night. The brilliant

stars of this western firmament drew their eyes and their thoughts heavenward, whither their brave companion had just departed, and made the scene more beautiful than the day. In honor of the dead they dedicated to his memory both the burial bluff and the little river in which they were moored. Thenceforth for all time these two objects in nature shall preserve the name of their dead comrade. So does a name—a mere sound in the air—become more imperishable than any structure of human workmanship. Unaffected by flood or tempest, or war's destructiveness, it is repeated from father to son, for all generations.

Thus prematurely died and was buried the courageous young Kentuckian. He had enlisted for a long and adventurous service which was expected to lead him along mighty rivers, among many wild and strange tribes, and over unknown mountains, until his eyes should finally rest upon that great and distant ocean which washed the western shores of the unexplored continent. Although he perished in the earlier stage of the enterprise this lonely burial, which cut off his hopes and his career, has preserved his name and memory among mankind above that of his comrades who continued the struggle to the end, and who returned to receive the rewards voted by an appreciative Congress.

THE GREAT EXPLORATION OF 1804-6.

President Jefferson had in the winter of 1802-3 conceived the plan of an exploring expedition up the Missouri and across the mountains to the Pacific with the view of scientific investigation and of opening trade with the Indians, and also of finding a feasible route for the limited commerce of that day across the continent. He hoped also to divert the fur trade of the northwest into the hands of the Americans. He obtained an appropriation from Congress of \$2,500, with which he proceeded to organize a company under the leadership of Captains Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and William Clark. The details of that expedition are interesting, but are already so well known that there is no occa-

sion to repeat them in this address. Its success was only accomplished by the exercise of all the virtues known to the life of the frontiersman. It required valor, perseverance, mutual trust, self-confidence, vigilance, knowledge of the instincts and characteristics of the savage, inventive resource, endurance, continuous toil, and unlimited courage. The explorers left their camp in Illinois, opposite the mouth of the Missouri, on May 14, 1804, and sixteen days from their departure saw the last cabin of the white man, about one hundred miles from the mouth of the river. It was ninety-seven years ago this day that they bade farewell to these huts of semi-civilization. Thenceforward for many, many weary months, upward along the endless windings and shifting sandbars of that treacherous river, and through the gorges and over the trackless ridges of confused mountains, and down the unknown streams rushing to the Pacific ocean, abandoning their old boats and building new, in peril of starvation, in peril of drowning, in peril of wild beasts and of wily savages, they pushed their way over flooding waters and pathless forests to their desolate destination on an uncharted ocean coast in the far region of the sunset. Every morning found them ignorant where their evening would be. The sun by day and the stars by night were the only familiar things of the visible universe. When in the opening of a second winter season they arrived on the bleak and desolate ocean shore at the mouth of a great river, it was only to encounter the incessant cold rains of winter, the increasing dangers of famine, and the attacks of disease. After four tedious months of waiting beside the deserted waters of the Pacific, hoping vainly for sight of a vessel that should take their homeward messages around Cape Horn, in the third spring of their expedition they turned their steps again into the continental wilderness on their return (if God should permit it) to the lands of civilization and expectant friends.

Again the weary hunt for wild food, again the endless tugging at the oars upstream, again the rugged transit of

mountain ranges, once more the search for new passes and new waters of navigation in the tangled web of mountains, until at last, in the summer of 1806, their boats were again launched upon the Missouri. Then for the first time they felt themselves truly "homeward bound." Now the swift current of the great stream which was lately their enemy became their friend. Every lapping wavelet now sang of the nearing home. The stars, ever brilliant in that clear atmosphere, now seemed to shine with increasing luster as they rose up from the distant east, where anxious friends were awaiting the long-expected tidings. Familiar scenes of old camping-places appeared as they swiftly descended the river. More cheerily than on the upward voyage they now leaped into the stream to push their boat from the ever-lurking, ever-changing sandbars. Instead of fifteen or twenty miles a day as on their upward voyage, they now counted fifty, sixty, even seventy miles per day. There was little halting on their homeward course. But as they came by the bluff on which we are now standing the strong magnet of memory drew them to the shore. Once more the expedition halted at this landing that they might visit the grave of their dead comrade. They restored it to a condition of safety, and then bade the sacred deposit a long farewell. Little did they know—not one of the toil-worn heroes ever dreamed—of a future scene like that we look upon today. They saw only a solitary grave-mound in a vast desert region, far away from the abodes of civilization. We behold a splendid monument commemorating the spot where they laid their comrade in his last camping-ground, while jubilant thousands celebrate the brilliant deeds of the men who then sailed sadly away from the shore. They looked upstream and eastward upon a limitless solitude, stretching far away to the north and to the Mississippi. Our eyes look upon a populous and prosperous city which shall watch forever over this grave, and around it a rich and happy state of the American Union, with more than two millions of patriotic inhabitants, who today recall

with pride the story of the first American pioneers of the great west. It is a transformation scene unmatched in any oriental story. But these pilgrims of the wilderness, ignorant and undreaming of all this incredible future, passed on, plying their oars, until at the end of nineteen days they met a joyous welcome from the villagers of St. Louis, and rested from their labors.

THE HISTORIC COMMEMORATION.

But this lofty monument is not erected solely to commemorate the modest life and humble career of the army sergeant whose bones were deposited in this soil long before the plow of civilization had disturbed it. Nor will this memorial only serve to celebrate the splendid exploration accomplished by his more fortunate companions. It also perpetuates the memory of a great historic act which influenced the fate of three nations, and opened the way to new liberties and increased happiness for mankind. It changed the development of our people, and gave a new pathway to the march of our young republic. It is this historical significance of the monument which induced the national congress, the legislature of Iowa, and the patriotic people of Sioux City to combine their efforts for its erection. It is my honorable and welcome duty today, fellow citizens, to invite your attention to the history of that great acquisition in our national progress which this monument will forever commemorate, and to indicate its influence upon the later destinies of the republic.

CHANGING FORTUNES OF LOUISIANA.

Before the outbreak of the Anglo-French war of 1756 the French king claimed under the name of "Louisiana" not only all of the Mississippi Valley west of that river, but also all the valley on the east of it lying north of Spanish Florida and eastward to the Alleghany mountains. The country north of the upper Ohio, however, was regarded as a part of Canada. The Count de Vergennes in his memorial on the subject, addressed to the king of France, says that the Appa-

lachian mountains "separate the new France from the new England as distinctly as in Europe the mountains of the Pyrenees separate France from Spain."*

The Louisiana of that day may be generally described as embracing the whole region north of Spanish Mexico and Spanish Florida, from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and from the sources of the Mississippi to its mouth, with the exception of that northeastern part which was tributary to the great lakes north of the Ohio, and was therefore associated with Canada.

The French were very active in establishing trading posts and making agreements with the Indians for common hostility to the English. Along the undefined eastern boundaries aggressions were continually occurring without waiting for declarations of war. When the war of 1756 came it proved exhaustive for both parties, but ended most disastrously for the French. They were obliged in the end to surrender to the British all Canada, and all of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi, with the exception of New Orleans and the block of adjacent land extending east to the boundary of west Florida. The delta east of the river, and all the remainder of Louisiana to the west and northwest of the river as far as the mountains, was about the same time ceded by France to Spain in compensation for her losses in the war as the ally of France.

The retention by the French king in his treaty with England of the lower east bank of the river, which gave to the jealous Spaniard the control of both banks for a long distance above the mouth, and of the whole gulf coast, was destined to cause much angry excitement and trouble in the future, with much contention between the United States and Spanish governments; and it led later to a great change in the policy of the United States. The treaty of peace of 1763 assured to England the free navigation of the river to its mouth.

*"Separant aussi distinctement la Nouvelle de France de la Nouvelle Angleterre, que les Monts Pyrenees separant, en Europe, la France d'avec l'Espagne."

But commerce in barges and flatboats required a depot near New Orleans for its transfer to ocean-going vessels. France, however, had relieved herself of all trouble on this account by her secret transfer of the territory to Spain. After the peace of 1763 England found French interests withdrawn from the American continent, and Spain was in possession of all the Mississippi region which France had owned or claimed, except that portion toward the Alleghanies and above the Ohio, which was ceded by the treaty to England.

This was the situation when our revolutionary war again disturbed the international conditions in respect to Louisiana. Naturally the sympathies of the French people and government were with our American patriots because England was our adversary. But the Memoir of Count de Vergennes, before referred to, shows that the motive of France for participating in the revolutionary war as our ally was found in the hope of inducing Spain to retrocede Louisiana and of recovering Canada for herself. The Memoir expressly mentions the danger to both Spain and France if the Americans should succeed in their revolution. The French statesman says plainly that "the United Provinces of America, after shaking off the metropolitan yoke, will be in a condition to give the law to France and Spain in all America, and they will invade their possessions at the moment when the two crowns will be least thinking of it." The French government was not so desirous for our success as for the loss by England of her American colonies and later acquisitions, and for the restoration to France of her former possessions. But even with her aid the war had no such result. England retained Canada and conceded to the revolted colonies their independence, together with all the territory held by England south of Canada and east of the Mississippi.

This territory seemed to our fathers vast enough for many generations of Americans. So late as 1801 Jefferson in his inaugural message congratulated the American people on "possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our de-

scendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation." And yet in that same generation, during that very administration, the expansion of the territory of the republic began, not by will of president or government, but by that providential force of development that has so often in our history overcome or compelled the will of man. The story of this wonderful transformation of public opinion and statesmanship may be briefly told.

After the establishment of our independence, and indeed before it, our already scattered population had begun to feel its way across the Alleghanies into the fertile lands of the great valley beyond. All the transportation of their products seaward must follow the current of the rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico. Spain, now holding all the outlets through East and West Florida, and the entire gulf coast as far as Mexico by her acquisition of Louisiana, was arbitrary, selfish, and jealous of this right of transit through her territory. The United States government, by treaty of 1795, had secured from Spain the right of depot at New Orleans for produce of the United States for the term of three years only, with provision for its continuance or for the establishment of another depot on the banks of the river. For a few years this arrangement was continued undisturbed. Then came a report from Europe that Spain under the commanding influence of Bonaparte had retroceded New Orleans and the entire province of Louisiana to France. In the subsequent excitement among the colonists the Spanish Intendant for some unknown reason cancelled the privilege of depot for our citizens. The Americans of the whole valley suddenly became aware of the frail tenure by which they held their commercial privileges. The entire valley became angrily excited, and was ready for immediate war and the capture of New Orleans if the depot privileges were not restored.

The report of the retrocession was afterward verified, and the title to Louisiana was again in France. It had been effected by a secret treaty executed in October, 1800, but the

terms were not published until many years afterward. The Americans of the valley, foreseeing the closing of their only commercial gateway, flooded Congress with their remonstrances, threatened to take measures for their security into their own hands, and boldly announced that their national allegiance depended on national protection. The more violent among them indicated the possibility of organizing an independent republic west of the Alleghanies, of seizing the control of the Mississippi and its valley, and expelling both France and Spain.

President Jefferson became profoundly alarmed by the energetic action of the west. He wrote to our minister (Livingston) at Paris that the possession by France of New Orleans would force the United States into alliance with England. He summoned Monroe to go with all speed of preparation on a special mission to Paris, the object of which was declared to be to purchase New Orleans and the Floridas, or so much of them as the powers in possession could be persuaded to part with. His purpose was wholly limited to the question of acquiring lands or permanent depots on the east of the Mississippi, and on the rivers running through Florida, for the convenience of our commerce which required outlets to the Gulf of Mexico, the northern shore of which would now be wholly controlled by Spain and France against the interests of the United States. This control by two foreign and allied powers was rightfully regarded as more dangerous to American interests than was the sole dominion of Spain. France under Bonaparte, then First Consul, was a much more dangerous neighbor than the King of Spain. The simple presence of French sovereignty at the mouth of the Mississippi was a provocation to the hostile fleets of Europe, and particularly an invitation to the fleets of England to enter and seize New Orleans and the mouths of that great river. This would establish Great Britain, already entrenched upon our northern frontier, on the other flank of the young republic, involving a thousand dangers to our growing interests in the newly-settled valley of the west.

French recklessness of international obligations on the high seas had already been disastrous to our commerce on the Atlantic ocean. Eastern merchants had numerous and just claims against the French for their seizures of our vessels and cargoes on the ocean, and now they were to control also the commercial outlet of the continental inland, and to invite thither the presence of warlike fleets. The instinct of danger which developed itself in the west was fully justified. Jefferson, who during his long residence in Paris had become impregnated with French ideas and French sympathies, was slower in appreciating the dangers than were the people of the valley. Indeed his adhesion to French ideas and French interests had years before caused a certain alienation of sentiment between him and Washington. The terrible excesses of the French revolution, its gross infidelity and its shocking bloodshed in the effort to abolish Christianity and law, had offended all of Washington's sentiments of religion and humanity. The sympathies of Washington were on the side of the religious civilization of his English forefathers; while Jefferson looked complacently upon the violent destruction of all that was sanctified by ages of faith and custom. So now after Washington's death, himself in the president's chair, Jefferson was far behind other responsible citizens of the republic in his appreciation of the perils arising from French recklessness in resort to war and international violence. He did not lead, but followed the people in their protest against the fresh introduction of the power of France into the very center of our continent.

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA A SURPRISE TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson's proposed measure of relief was limited, and altogether inadequate to provide for the future interests of the United States. His instructions to his envoys was to obtain "a cession to the United States of New Orleans and of West and East Florida, or as much thereof as the actual proprietor can be prevailed upon to part with." That is to say,

their attention was called exclusively to the gulf coast line extending from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. This appeared to be the maximum of his wishes. There was no hint of our requiring or of purchasing the great territory west of the Mississippi. He then proceeded to instruct them touching a possible reduction of even this demand, if necessary. If no grant of territorial jurisdiction could be obtained they were to secure mere rights of deposit, with the privilege of holding real estate for commercial purposes. In respect to the Floridas, the envoys were to secure depots at the mouths of the rivers which ran from the United States through Florida to the sea, together with their free navigation. And the sum within which they were to negotiate for any or all of these concessions was two millions of dollars.

It thus appears that Jefferson had never contemplated the acquisition of what is called the "Louisiana Purchase." Popular opinion has attributed to him a remarkable and statesmanlike foresight in negotiating for that vast tract of country west of the Mississippi in order to provide for the future needs of the then young republic. The truth, however, compels us to recognize the fact that neither the American people of that day—who were few in number compared with the extent of their existing territory, and who already possessed ample lands beyond their power of cultivation—nor their statesmen in their farthest vision foresaw the amazing development destined to come before the end of the century. Jefferson's plans, not anticipating, but following the demands of the "west," only sought to provide for an existing emergency, and to acquire in perpetuity a right which had been once conceded to the United States by Spain—the right of a free depot and transfer of their products. That was the attitude of our government when Monroe sailed for France. Its eyes were directed to the south, not to the west.

The real scene of the story of the Louisiana Purchase is on the other side of the Atlantic. It is laid in Paris, where the proposal of the greater transaction had its origin in

the breast of the powerful master of the French republic.

The First Consul, under the pressure of European hostilities, was contemplating an act of transcendent importance to our country. He had secretly held all of Louisiana at his disposal since October, 1800, although our ministers in France and Spain had been kept in ignorance of it. So late as the spring of 1803, Talleyrand deceptively denied the French title in a conversation with Livingston. But now a renewal of the war with England was threatened. The British navy was dominant on the sea, and an English expedition might at any time seize New Orleans, and France would lose the colony without compensation. His thoughts were already bent on a sale to the United States by which he hoped not only to satisfy our large pecuniary claims which we were pressing against his government, but to obtain besides a large surplus to reinforce his treasury for the coming war. He directed Marbois, his minister of finance, to offer the entire Province of Louisiana to the United States, and to demand in compensation one hundred million francs, together with the assumption by our government of the American claims against France for her outrages on our commerce. He said to his advisers with some passion in his voice that England coveted that colony and could easily make a descent there; but she should not have it. For France to retain it would be folly. He would cede the whole to the United States. This was the situation when Monroe arrived in Paris; for this startling proposal had been already communicated to Livingston, who could hardly credit the sincerity of the offer.

The prospect of this vast and complete acquisition which would for the second time eliminate French control from the American continent and settle the question of commercial depots forever, aroused intense interest in both the American envoys, but especially in the mind of Livingston. Communication with the United States by occasional sailing vessels was slow and uncertain. In that day neither telegraph nor steamship was available. A royal message to the English

parliament had just announced the British preparation for renewing the war with France. If anything was to be done with Louisiana it must be done quickly. Our envoys could not wait for new instructions. With true American courage they resolved to take the responsibility upon themselves, and without authority win a new empire for the young republic. They protested against the extravagance of the sum demanded as beyond the resources of the American government, and succeeded in reducing the amount of purchase money to sixty millions of francs, and in limiting the assumption of American claims to twenty millions of francs. They then concluded the three treaties with all haste. They were signed on the 30th of April, 1803. The war cloud hanging over the English channel burst eighteen days after the signature. When the names of the plenipotentiaries were appended to this unexpected convention of purchase, Livingston enthusiastically grasped the hands of Marbois and Monroe, saying: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives!" The praise for this magnificent accomplishment is more due to Robert R. Livingston than to any other American; and some city or county in every state formed out of this imperial purchase should bear his name in commemoration of his courageous statesmanship.

ACQUISITION DENOUNCED, BUT JUSTIFIED BY HISTORY.

The purchase money was indeed a great sum to pay out of the limited treasury and unestablished national credit of the United States of that day. Bitter opposition was aroused in this country against the ratification of the treaty. The acquisition was derided as of little worth, wholly unnecessary, and tending to weaken the old states. It was declared to be an excessive extension of territory which would lead to a disruption of the Union. The prophets of woe were as effusive then over the enlargement of our territory as they have been ever since over the successive expansions which have illuminated the pages of our national history. The evil predictions of 1803 are now buried deep in the drift of time. The very

names of the false prophets are in oblivion, while the many happy millions who inhabit the twelve states and two territories now lying within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase have forever repudiated the old forecasts of evil. Instead of diminishing, the older states have greatly increased their population and prosperity with the settlement and development of the new. The newer states have also forged new bands for the strengthening of the Union. The bravest blood offered to the nation in its historic struggle for liberty and Union, and in its struggle for the maintenance of the national power and glory abroad, has flowed from the veins of men who were nourished on this new soil of the republic. Patriotism, courage, energy, flow forth with every heart-beat of the child of the new west. He has subdued the savagery which dominated the prairies and plains and mountains of the Louisiana of 1803. He has covered the rolling prairies and plains with grazing herds and smiling harvests, with schoolhouses for happy children and churches for an untrammelled religion. He has uncovered the hidden caves of rich metals in the great mountains of northwestern Louisiana, and has enriched his whole country with the elements of a new and unbounded prosperity. Whenever and wherever his nation's flag has been thrown to the breeze at home or abroad, in Mexico or Alaska, in Cuba or other islands of the sea, under the great wall of China, or in the mountain fastnesses of Luzon, wherever deeds of loyalty, of courage and of daring are required, there in the front rank of volunteers is heard the quick response of the loyal sons of the west. New strength has been acquired for the constitution and the Union, new hope for the country's prosperity is created with every new breath born in the expanded territory of our republic.

It may be further confidently affirmed that our national character has not deteriorated during the century in which we have followed the providential law of our national growth and development. We have seen in what manner this law was introduced and historically established. I call it providential

because neither our statesmen nor our people proposed it or foresaw it. The national representatives of that day, including Jefferson himself, when informed of the convention signed by our envoys in Paris, doubted its constitutionality, or were astounded by the resulting increase of the public debt. They adopted it chiefly because of the evident perils to existing national interests which would follow its rejection.

THE STORY OF LOUISIANA DRAMATIC—HER FATE
PROVIDENTIAL.

The whole story of Louisiana involves much that is dramatic and unexpected. De Soto merely crossed its central river and died without discovering its mouth or exploring its course, although his decimated followers later escaped through its outlet without any act of possession. Consequently Spain acquired no title to the river valley. Then came France, whose explorers from Canada made discoveries from the sources downward, and later found its outlet by sea and took possession upward. Her right to the country was therefore beyond dispute. Had the French retained possession of all their discoveries they would have imprisoned the future American republic between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. But this was not the Divine purpose. England conquered Canada, and eastern Louisiana followed the fate of her sister province and became British colonial territory. As a consequence, the latter fell to the United States upon the recognition of their independence. So it happened that our people at the end of the revolutionary war found themselves in possession as far as the Mississippi, but there were barred from all further western progress so long as Spain held all the vast territory west of the river.

Had the boundary remained there for a hundred years, no human mind can conceive the change it would have made in the destiny of this nation. Without the wheat fields and corn fields and the cattle ranges of the prairies and plains of the Trans-Mississippi, without the lead and iron ores of Missouri, without the vast deposits of gold and silver and copper

of the western mountain ranges, with no roads across the continent, with no harbors on the Pacific coast, without possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, without any port on the Gulf of Mexico, above all without the incentive to our individual activities and national development that these sources of wealth have afforded—no human intellect, no poet's imagination, can portray what would have been our fate or our condition today as influenced or controlled by the nations which might have possessed them. What wars might have ensued, what liberties might have perished, what miseries might have befallen!

But at the providential moment there appeared upon the European horizon a new and dominant personal force in the French republic which overawed Spain, and her king yielded to the demand of "Citizen Bonaparte," and restored Louisiana to France. This again threatened to be a more serious obstacle to our growth than was the power of Spain, for the military force of France was far greater. But two years later France finds it impracticable to retain Louisiana owing to her naval inferiority to England, and Bonaparte suddenly, without the knowledge of the government at Washington, conveys the title finally and forever to the United States. Even then Spain, alarmed at the absolute and final disposal of the country by France, protests our title because of an alleged condition attached to her retrocession to France. This condition was officially notified to the United States that Louisiana should never be conveyed by France to a third power. But Bonaparte imperatively insisted that delivery should be made to him under the cession of 1800, which was done; and he immediately thereafter, on the 20th of December, 1803, transferred the possession of New Orleans to the United States. The Lewis and Clark expedition, conceived without expectation of our possible ownership, was thus enabled to explore the territory of Louisiana under our own flag. But we had at that time no acknowledged title to the country westward of the mountains to the Pacific coast. Spain,

Great Britain, and Russia were on that coast before us. Equally in the order of providence, and just in time, the New England Captain Gray, under the American flag, was the first to enter the mouth of the great river of Oregon in 1792, which under international law gave to the United States the claim of discovery, and this claim was strongly reinforced by the succeeding exploration of Lewis and Clark. With this inchoate right on the Pacific coast the United States was able by later treaties to permanently establish our title on that shore, with well defined limits between the Spanish territory on the south and the British on the north.

THE PRIZE CONTESTED IN TWO WARS.

Our acquisition of Louisiana had been accomplished by the pacific methods of diplomacy. But the permanent possession of it by our Union was only to be preserved at the cost of great treasure and by the sacrifice of many lives. In less than twelve years from the date of the cession by France, while we were at war with Great Britain that power despatched an expedition to seize the mouth of the river, accompanied by an army for the capture of New Orleans. The men of the lower valley rushed to arms, met the invading enemy, and drove him back to the sea. The dramatic feature of Louisiana's history again appears in the fact that this battle was fought after the signature of peace, of which the tidings had not yet reached the combatants. This battle, however, brilliant as it was on the part of the American volunteers, hardly rises to the dignity of a tragedy in comparison with the prolonged struggle which followed a half century later.

This incomparable valley, dowered with inexhaustible wealth, and like Helen of Troy possessed of the fatal gift of beauty, was destined to become the scene of the greatest conflict known in the history of the American continent—a conflict, please God! never to be renewed. On this 30th day of May, devoted by the affection of the American people to the memory of the heroes of the war for the Union, we can-

not forget the splendid services of the men who by their indomitable courage again saved the lower Mississippi to the United States together with all the original Louisiana on both banks below the mouth of the Ohio.

In our great civil struggle Louisiana and its river once more became the mighty stake played for in the terrible game of war. Again the question was presented of the northern right of access to the sea by way of the river, and of the control of the delta at its mouth. Vaster commercial interests than ever before were in suspense. Once more, also, a Bonaparte appeared on the borders of the scene gazing eagerly from Mexico upon the still coveted territory which had been ceded by his great predecessor. The brave and stalwart men of the valley, in former contests united, were now unhappily divided into hostile camps. As never before it was now a battle of giants, equally brave, equally resolved. The issue hung long in a balance, the scales of which were filled with blood. But the great-hearted men of the upper valley clothed themselves in the panoply of the Union, drew in a mighty inspiration from the sentiment of expanding human liberty, and fought four long years to regain the untrammelled freedom of the great river from all its sources to the sea. The bones of our heroic dead who perished in that fearful struggle lie scattered along all the river shores from the Missouri to the gulf. But they did not die in vain. We owe it to their unfaltering courage that since the end of these years of battle, and we trust for all time to come, every rivulet that falls eastward down the rugged ranges of the Rocky mountains, or that ripples southward from the far springs of the Canadian frontier, or that leaps westward down the slopes of the Alleghanies, dances along all its winding way through the old Louisiana to the southern sea under the folds of the star-spangled banner and to the music of the Union. All hail to the memory of these heroes dead; and all hail to their comrades who live to salute the dawn of this day dedicated to the memory of their deeds!

EXPANSION A VITAL LAW OF THE REPUBLIC.

Such is the outline of the story of Louisiana, first tossed to and fro between France and Spain, and then imperiously tossed by the French executive to the envoys of the United States. Later it was twice subjected to the wager of battle. Its acquisition is especially significant in our history, as it was the first enlargement of that original territory which our fathers thought sufficient for our children until the "hundredth generation." Based upon Louisiana, the republic continued its expansion across the middle of the continent from the great ocean of the sunrise to the greater ocean of the sunset. Our republic did not dream yet of the wider expansion which was still enfolded in the shadow of her future destiny. She awaited the reappearance of the index finger of providence.

But important events of our history have taught us one great truth of our heredity as a people. Expansion is in the blood of our race. Organized liberty demands a broadening sphere of action. A single generation may pause to organize and utilize what a previous one has acquired. But a succeeding generation will reassert the inherent impulse of the race so long as barbarism remains on the earth unsubdued. Under christian auspices it is the providential law which from age to age opens up new regions to the influences of a higher civilization, and uplifts the inferior races by contact with the superior. The right to enforce civilized usages among mankind is higher and holier than the right to maintain barbaric practices and inhuman laws. The better has an inherent moral right to expand over the worse. The justice and humanity of the motive will forever consecrate the onward movement with a divine sanction. Peace and order, liberty and prosperity, education and morality, have hitherto followed the advancing flag of the American republic. Wild beasts have given place to peaceful herds and flocks. The wandering wigwam has been replaced by the settled home. The ground of the war-dance is occupied by the school house, and the pole hung with scalp-locks by the steeple of the

church. The vast desert spaces are now laughing with harvests, and the various tribes of the white men are dwelling there in unity. Who can doubt that such expansion is in accord with the purposes of the Almighty in the regeneration of the world?

In this spirit and with such purpose the expansion of the republic has more widely advanced in later years. The beneficent changes to be wrought in the alien races may require a full generation or more for their accomplishment. The work of the school house is slow. The work of the church is dilatory. But we have the glorious assurance of the past that we are now doing the will of the great ruler of nations while we follow our providential law. Since the middle of the last century we have been led on step by step beyond the ocean boundary of our continent, following the sun in his western course, until scores of islands of the southern and central Pacific have come peacefully under the dominion of the United States. The Alaskan Islands carried the jurisdiction of the republic within the longitudes of northern Asia. By an unforeseen emergency of the Spanish war, declared for another and a humane purpose, we came into the unexpected possession of the Philippine Islands, on the south of the Asiatic continent. Like Louisiana, their purchase and annexation were unforeseen by the statesmen and people of our country; and, like Louisiana, they will in the process of civilization reveal unexpected resources for the blessing of mankind and for the advancement and security of the republic.

A CENTURY OF GLORY.

We look back with amazement and with gratitude upon this century of our history. The first year of the nineteenth century found our youthful nation barred on the west by our great mediterranean river, and shut off from the sea on the south, with the barriers guarded by two formidable military powers of Europe. Our incipient commerce was wantonly destroyed on the high seas, the common prey of warring European navies, without fear of reprisals or punishment.

Even the paltry powers of the Barbary coast levied tribute on our commercial vessels and held captured American citizens in slavery. Our political parties at home were more hostile to each other than to the foreigners who insulted our flag. The republic was neither respected nor envied, neither courted nor feared, by any power of Europe, or Asia, or Africa.

But now, in the first year of the twentieth century, all this is changed. Our matured nation is in possession of the whole northern shore of the gulf, including all the peninsula of Florida, with her jurisdiction extended across the continent to the shore of the Pacific, and leaping thence to the farthest coast of Alaska. Our flag floats over a thousand islands of the western ocean. It was the first to be welcomed in the harbors of Japan, of Korea, and of China as the emblem of international peace and justice. The fame of our navy is wafted around the world by every wind that blows, and the flag that covers its guns assures protection to our commerce on every sea and in the harbors of every continent. The republic is respected and honored as one of the great physical and moral powers of the world. At home a common patriotism unites our political parties as never before. It has been exhibited during this month when all political parties in various parts of this great country have been assembling to greet and acclaim a president, who is himself the soul of patriotism and national honor.

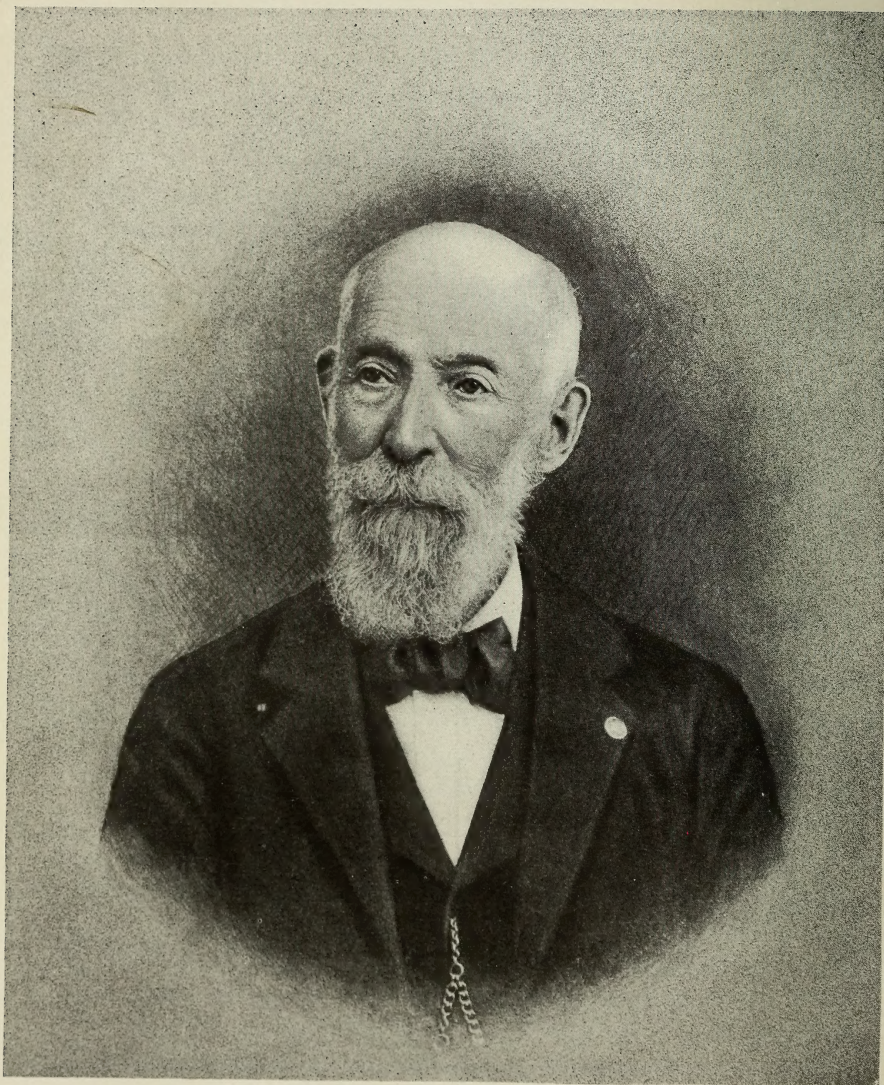
It is a marvelous expansion, a marvelous transformation, a miracle of the nations!

Thanks be to the Almighty Power which has so directed our destiny that in this first summer of the new century, and in the third generation of the explorers of the west, the sun never sets upon the territory of the republic. That brilliant orb which today gilds the summit of this monument will shed his bright beams in every hour of his daily circuit around the globe upon some state or territory, some plain or mountain or island shore, over which floats the beneficent flag of

our expanded republic, carrying in its folds the assurance of peace and liberty, order and security, education and civilization to all the inhabitants. May this great memorial stand for ages to come to remind our children of the manly virtues of their race, which in the nineteenth century made the republic so glorious in the annals of history.

THE RUSH TO IOWA.

We yesterday saw Jas. Chisnell, Esq., of Summit county, just returned from the Decorah land office, Iowa, where with thousands of others he had been waiting for weeks for the purpose of entering some government land. The rush was so great that the crowd would fill up the passage way to the office at night and stand on their feet till morning, in order to be first in. Some froze their toes and some their feet, waiting for the office to open. This was called the "stair system." The outsiders finally organized some three hundred strong and drew numbers from a hat for their turns, pledging to stand by one another, as against those who persisted in the stair system. Upon the drawing, printed numbers were issued to the drawers, from 1 to 300, signed by the chairman of the committee, which certificates of numbers soon became currency, by bearing a premium of from \$5 to \$50 for those entitled to draw first. The officer could wait upon but four or five customers per day, which would throw the high numbers some months ahead. So Mr. Chisnell and others come home and wait a month or so when they expect to return in time to take their chances according to their numbers.—*Cleveland (O.) Plaindealer, Feb. 20, 1856.*



Theodore S. Parvin,

THEODORE SUTTON PARVIN,

Private Secretary to Gov. Robert Lucas, 1838-40; First Territorial Librarian, 1839; founder of the
Masonic Library and Museum, at Cedar Rapids, Iowa; distinguished as an
educator, statesman, and historical collector.

THEODORE S. PARVIN.

BY CHARLES ALDRICH.

This notice of the life and public services of Hon. Theodore S. Parvin has been to some extent extracted from one which the writer published several years ago.

Of all the enterprising young men who came to Iowa in territorial days, few, if any, have left so permanent an impress upon our history as the subject of this article. He had graduated from Cincinnati and Woodward Colleges and completed his legal studies. At an opportune moment (early in 1838) he met Gen. Robert Lucas, who had retired from the governorship of Ohio, receiving from President Martin Van Buren the appointment of first Governor of the new Territory of Iowa. Governor Lucas was at once most favorably impressed with the young man, whom he invited to accompany him to Iowa as his private secretary. An Iowa newspaper of that day paid a high compliment to "two cultured and accomplished young men who came with the Governor." I only know that one of these gifted young men was Theodore S. Parvin—the name of the other I am unable to state. A Governor's private secretary should be as good a man as the Governor himself—his equal in mental culture and capacity for intellectual labor. Such a helper Mr. Parvin proved himself to be. This was the commencement of an active friendship which only ended with the death of the Governor, at Iowa City, in 1853. How useful young Parvin became to the Governor and how implicitly he was trusted we shall see further on.

Theodore Sutton Parvin was born in Cedarville, Cumberland county, New Jersey, on the 15th day of January, 1817, and had therefore entered upon his 85th year. His death occurred at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on the 28th day of June, 1901. Of his boyhood and youth I am unable to speak, though we may confidently believe that his early life was characterized by sobriety, industry, and thorough devotion

to the studies which fitted him so admirably for his future career of usefulness and honor. He and Gov. Lucas settled in the future city of Burlington, then a small village. In August of that year he appeared before the Hon. Thomas S. Wilson, of Dubuque, then an associate judge of the supreme court of the Territory, as an applicant for admission to practice at the bar. An interesting anecdote concerning that event has been narrated to the writer. I am not certain, however, but it may have been published heretofore; at all events, it is worth repeating. Judge Wilson was at that time only 22 or 23 years of age—quite a juvenile piece of timber from which to construct a justice of the supreme court. But he acquitted himself with such ability and dignity that he remained in the judiciary a long time afterwards. Upon his arrival in the little village of Dubuque, Mr. Parvin repaired at once to the residence of Judge Wilson. Upon knocking at the door it was opened by a very young man, a mere boy in appearance. After the first greeting he asked: "Is your father at home?" "He is not here," was the reply, "but what do you wish?" "Why, I came to see Judge Wilson." "Well, sir, I am Judge Wilson. What can I do for you?" Quickly recovering from his surprise, he said: "I came to apply for admission to the practice of the law." He was at once cordially invited to come in. I can give none of the particulars of the examination, but when he left the house he carried with him a certificate of admission "to practice in all courts of record in the territory aforesaid." This certificate was written out and signed by "T. S. Wilson, one of the associate judges of the supreme court in and for the territory of Iowa." There were no printed blanks for that purpose in those days. This was the first admission of an attorney in the territory, and the original certificate several years ago found a permanent lodgment in The Aldrich Collection of autograph letters, manuscripts and portraits now in the State Historical Building.

During this same year Gov. Lucas, whose Andrew Jack-

son face used to appear on the bills of the old State Bank of Iowa, appointed Mr. Parvin Territorial Librarian. About this time he sent him east to purchase books for the foundation of the Territorial library—the basis of the present State library—to the amount of \$5,000. On his return Gov. Lucas receipted to him for the books, and the receipt, with Mr. Parvin's commission as librarian, are also in the Collection above mentioned.

Right here it may be well to repeat what I have written elsewhere and more than once: Mr. Parvin should have been kept in the position of Territorial and State Librarian from that time forward during his active life, for he has had few equals in the Middle West as a collector of literary wares, books, antiquities, materials for history, etc., etc. Wisconsin had such a worker—Lyman C. Draper, who retained his position until 1887, when he was forced to retire by reason of the infirmities of age. Draper was just such an active, energetic, earnest collector, and the consequence is, that Wisconsin possesses collections surpassing all others in the West, and scarcely paralleled in the Union. Mr. Parvin was not retained, and our State drifted into the senseless policy of appointing librarians—with few exceptions—for political reasons and for short terms. As a natural consequence the libraries of both states have been most conspicuous—one for its extent and value, and the other for its moderate proportions aside from the department of law. I have always believed that had Mr. Parvin been retained in that office, Iowa would have been fully abreast of Wisconsin. The State would now possess invaluable collections, and best of all, they would have cost the State comparatively little beyond the expense of housing and taking care of them. In making such collections the great point of difficulty is in getting the proper quarters for their arrangement and display. Gifts naturally flow into libraries and museums as if by gravitation—if the collector is wide awake and alert, like Parvin and Draper. Had Mr. Parvin been retained the great collection would

long ago have become precious beyond any estimate. It is strange that the men who made our laws failed to realize and comprehend facts so simple and palpable.

The next position to which Mr. Parvin was appointed was that of district attorney for the middle district of Iowa, in the year 1839. In 1840 he was elected secretary of the territorial council. From 1847 to 1857 he was clerk of the United States district court. In 1840-50 he was county judge. This was a position in those days of much power and responsibility, as these so-called judges not only exercised all the duties of surrogates or probate judges, but also (with more of real power) discharged most of the functions now exercised by the boards of county supervisors. They could lay out roads, build bridges or court houses, and run their counties into almost any depth of indebtedness. Some north-western counties were more than twenty years paying the debts incurred in the reign of the county judges. The eastern counties happily had little or no difficulty in that direction. Mr. Parvin's administration was both clean and successful. He was for one term register of the state land office, 1857-8. From 1860 to 1870 he was professor of the natural sciences in the Iowa State University, acting also as secretary of the Iowa Historical Society during the years 1864, '5 and '6. He was one of the founders of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA* which he edited many years. He was a valued contributor to its pages from the beginning. Those old volumes have become so precious that librarians and historical students are now asking for their republication.

Doubtless the most important service rendered by Mr. Parvin to the State of Iowa—far-reaching in its consequences—was his aid in defeating the constitution of 1844. The constitutional convention of that year named the Missouri river as the western boundary of the proposed State, but congress curtailed these fair dimensions by cutting off from north to south about one-third of the proposed area bordering on the Missouri river and sent the constitution back to be ratified

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Robert Lucas,

GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF IOWA.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS MAY COME—GREETING:

Know Ye, That reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity and ability of *T. S. Parvin,*

I have nominated, and ~~by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council~~ appointed him

Librarian, of the Territory aforesaid—

And I do hereby authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office according to law: **TO HAVE AND TO**

HOLD the said office, with all the rights, privileges, and emoluments thereunto belonging, *until the end of*

the next session of the Legislative Assembly.

unless the Governor of the said Territory, for the time being, should think proper soonerto revoke and determine this Commission.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused these Letters to be made Patent, and the

Great Seal of the Territory to be hereunto affixed.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND, at Burlington, *Tenth* day of

April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine,

and of the Independence of the United States of America, the 63d.

BY THE GOVERNOR.

Robert Lucas

HON. THEODORE S. PARVIN'S COMMISSION AS TERRITORIAL LIBRARIAN.

The original document from which the above engraving was made, is now preserved in The Aldrich Collection, in the Historical Department of Iowa.

by a vote of the people. The late Lieutenant-Governor Enoch W. Eastman, Major Frederick D. Mills,* and T. S. Parvin, vigorously stumped the territory in opposition to the adoption of this constitution, and at each of two elections the following year it was rejected. If the reader will take any map of Iowa and rule off one-third of its territory from north to south on the western side, he will readily see and appreciate what the State would have been deprived of by the adoption of that constitution. It required stalwart courage on the part of these eloquent young men to oppose what it is no injustice to call an iniquity—for the adoption of that constitution was demanded by the leading political influences of the territory, sustained and supported by the administration at Washington. There were United States senatorships to be filled, and other choice plums to be distributed, and men who were looking for promotion were in a hurry to see the territory blossom into a State! The credit of preventing the adoption of the constitution of 1844 is due to Theodore S. Parvin and his two associates on the stump.

Since the introduction of Freemasonry into Iowa in 1840, Judge Parvin has been its foremost representative. He served as grand master in 1852. For some time before that year he had been grand secretary. At the end of his grand mastership he was again chosen grand secretary, a position he held until his death. Through his timely and persistent efforts the headquarters of the fraternity were established at Cedar Rapids in 1885. A fund of some \$20,000 had been accumulated and this was wisely devoted to the erection of a large fire-proof grand lodge museum and library building. For many years, probably as far back as 1840, he had been a collector of the publications of various secret orders, especially those relating to Masonry. These, with rare generosity, he presented to the grand lodge of Iowa, continuing his collections with a zeal which knew no abatement and only

*Major Frederick D. Mills commanded a battalion in the war with Mexico and was killed at the battle of Churubusco, August 20, 1847.

ceased with his life. That library now contains more Masonic books than any other in the world, aside from those relating to all other secret orders. But it is by no means narrowed down to these specialties. It contains many early books and documents relating to Iowa, with considerable collections in history and general literature, making up a library at once varied and comprehensive, aside from its leading feature. There is also a large collection of miscellaneous books published in this State. The new and commodious edifice gave Mr. Parvin ample room and scope to indulge his born proclivity for collecting. It would be a difficult task to attempt to set forth the contents of the building. The museum has grown so rapidly that more space is necessary for the adequate display of the constantly accumulating materials. These include geological and natural history specimens, prehistoric stone implements, arms, coins, autograph letters, manuscripts, works of art, and hundreds of objects which may be set down as curios or bric-a-brac. One new and very interesting item had just been received at the time of one of my visits. It was an especially fine collection of stalactites and stalagmites from the Dubuque mineral caves, sufficient to fill a large case. These were searched for and brought out of the underground darkness by Mr. N. R. Parvin, the son, and for many years a most worthy and efficient coadjutor of the grand secretary. These formations were known to be very beautiful and most desirable additions to the museum, and there seemed no other way to get them than by personal effort. The best thought connected with these interesting objects is that they grew into forms of beauty beneath our own soil. Such is the spirit with which the Parvins have always labored in building up their Masonic Museum and Library, which years ago became one of the most remarkable enterprises in our State.

Mr. Parvin, as I have sufficiently set forth, was a most intelligent as well as an omnivorous and almost universal collector. A great many of these collectors are a stingy sort of

folk. That would seem to be the most natural thing in the world, for a collector, like *Oliver Twist*, is "always wanting more." Things must be kept or there can be no collection. Mr. Parvin, although so earnest and devoted a collector himself, was always liberal and helpful to other Iowans in the same work. I have personally known him to hand over rare and cherished objects to a brother collector, who seemed to be looking upon them with longing eyes. He was anxious that other state collections should be kept growing. Neither selfishness nor envy entered into his mental constitution.

To the library of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, the library of the State University, the State Library, the State Historical Society, the State Historical Department and The Aldrich Collection, he has been an open-handed, liberal contributor—and to all but the two last named, for a longer period than the life-time of a generation. To the first he has given large collections of scientific books, and many specimens of great interest to the students of natural history, ethnology and archaeology; and the library of the State Historical Society at Iowa City owes to him a large portion of its most precious contents. His gift of early Iowa documents is valuable beyond estimate—for it is now quite impossible to duplicate it. And to these he added bound files of early and later Iowa newspapers, and a large case filled with geological specimens, prehistoric stone implements, with many out-of-the-way objects and curios of greater or less value.

His gifts to the Iowa State Library of early statute laws and public documents were valuable beyond estimate. Printed at first in small editions, they had gone entirely out of print and could be had nowhere else. This rare generosity entitles him to the lasting gratitude of every intelligent Iowan, for without these precious documents, many important points of our history would forever remain undetermined.

His memory will be perpetuated in all the directions named. The memories of men stand little chance of preservation unless they are embalmed in printed books which are

gathered into public libraries. If memories are not so perpetuated they speedily perish. Of the Iowa men who filled the public eye twenty-five years ago, how few are remembered today! They have come and gone like the ephemeras of a soft night in June! But in the libraries I have named the reader in distant future years, will find multiplied and most precious gifts from the free and ever-generous hand of Theodore S. Parvin. They will also preserve the names and records of other men, and not at all unlikely, of many who looked upon his own work with coldness and distrust, doing their best to thwart or embarrass him in his earnest and patriotic efforts. No other Iowa man has built for himself so many, or such permanent and abiding monuments; and if, as Daniel Webster said, speaking of himself, "the mould shall gather upon his memory," there will be plenty of students of Iowa history, who will scrape the moss from the inscriptions.

All honor, then, to the memory of him, the pioneer in this patriotic work—the preservation of the materials of early and later Iowa history. His will be one of the few names of Iowa men which will be imperishable.

* * *

My personal acquaintance with Mr. Parvin was but slight—though I had known him well since 1857 by reputation, and had met him occasionally at the capitol of the State—up to the organization of the Pioneer Law Makers' Association in 1886. From that time forward our relations grew into a cordial and friendly intimacy. He soon learned what I had in view in relation to founding and building up an Iowa Historical Department and Museum, and no man or enterprise ever had a more truly devoted friend than he became to me and my effort. He had long been recognized as the pioneer collector and museum builder in our State—anxious to extend his own work—but he gave me every possible aid and encouragement. His generosity lay not altogether in words, but he made the Department generous gifts and pointed the way to secure others. He many years ago secured

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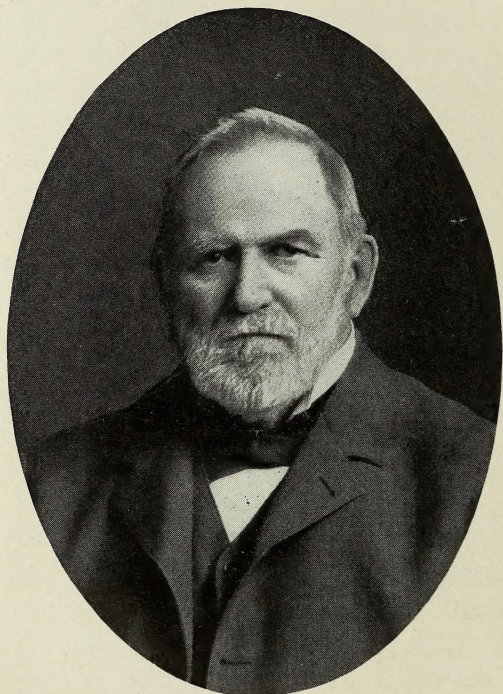
a fine oil portrait of himself by George H. Yewell, N. A. That had been hanging in the State Library, but he recently expressed a strong preference that it should be placed permanently in the Historical Art Room under my charge. I could always ask, and always received, his hearty cooperation and judicious advice. He was as generous as he was uniformly just. If an article reached his collection which the general judgment would say should belong to the Historical Department of the State, he was ready to turn it over at once. Ours was an instance where two of a trade agreed.

At one period, about the years 1891-3, he and his work had many enemies in the Masonic order, and at one of the elections his majority for grand secretary was but a single vote. This was due to two causes—1st, a feud in the order arising out of some question of rites or discipline, not known to the outside world; and 2d, from opposition to the founding and development of the Masonic Library and Museum. The Library and Museum at that time passed through the most critical period of their existence. Many doubted the utility of such a work—having no appreciation of its necessity or uses. Some openly favored largely using the yearly accumulating funds in banqueting and junketing. In this respect the Masonic fraternity did not vary from many other secret or public organizations extant then and afterwards. This social work, the ambition to have “a good time,” absorbs many great energies and prevents more than one association from achieving any high and permanent purpose. I would not decry the social feature, but why not also have in view the accomplishment of permanent purposes, looking to noble and patriotic ends? That idea was evidently Parvin’s inspiration at that most critical period, as it had been for more than half a century. I visited him on one of his gloomiest days in that time of doubt and uncertainty. His determination to struggle on was not in the least shaken, but his opposition was so bitter and his election had been achieved with such effort and won by so small a margin that

the outlook was a gloomy one. I know that he had fears that his tenure of grand secretary and librarian might be very brief. He was certainly setting his house in order preparatory to leaving it. Possibilities in that direction could not be ignored, nor did they inspire cheerfulness. The statements in this paragraph I believe to be absolutely correct, though I depend wholly upon my recollection of conversations with Mr. Parvin and others.

But what splendid results came from that majority of a single vote? The Masonic Library and Museum were saved to the order and the people of Iowa, and Parvin was retained to carry forward and develop his wise plans which reach out into the long future. "One majority" had turned the tide, and his opposition faded out and was heard of no more. From that time his great undertaking steadily grew in appreciation and popularity. As his plans and purposes became more distinctly understood, so his own hold upon the confidence of the great fraternity yearly increased. He was re-elected year after year as the unanimous choice of the Grand Lodge. His last election took place when it was known that he had but a few days to live, and a committee was sent to carry the news to him on his death bed. Such positions of implicit trust and confidence, continued for half a century, seldom come to any one. To no other Iowa man has been vouchsafed a career so unique, or in a larger measure useful to the State and the people. Never an office-seeker, he was in public life from the time he crossed the Mississippi until he breathed his last. His life was filled with good works and they live after him.

JARED FERGUSON died at Decorah, Iowa, September 1, 1895. He was born at Bolton, Conn., February 11, 1794, and was therefore 101 years, 6 months and 19 days old. He was a soldier of the war of 1812, and was believed by his friends to have been its last survivor in Iowa.



*Very Truly
Robert S. Finkbine*

ROBERT S. FINKBINE,

Representative from Johnson county, in the 10th and 11th general assemblies, 1864-'66; member of the board of commissioners in charge of the erection of the new capitol, and superintendent of construction, 1872-'84; member of the board of public works of the city of Des Moines, 1890-'94.

ROBERT S. FINKBINE AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE ERECTION OF THE IOWA CAPITOL.

BY HON. PETER A. DEY.

I have been asked by some of my friends to write out the remarks I made at Mr. Finkbine's funeral. As there are some facts that are probably known only to myself, it will be necessary, to give a correct view of the situation and the relations of parties to each other, for me to go further into detail than was suitable on that occasion. This is my reason for bringing in the early history of the Capitol building before Mr. Finkbine's connection with it.

The General Assembly, by an act approved April 13, 1870, appointed a board of Capitol Commissioners consisting of one member from each of the congressional districts of the State, two commissioners at large—Gen. G. M. Dodge and Hon. James F. Wilson, named in the act—and the Governor, who was ex-officio president of the board. If practicable, the management of the work should be under the charge of an Iowa superintendent, and preference should be given Iowa material. Under this latter clause the board made chemical and physical tests of the building stones of the State, more thorough and complete than had been made before or have been since. As the result of these they adopted for the foundation the oolitic limestone which is found on the Iowa river in Tama county, and which seemed to have successfully withstood all the tests. Some newspaper attacked the oolitic stone, claiming that it would not resist the action of water and frost. This attack was followed by many of the newspapers of the State, and the board losing all confidence in their tests, hastened to undo their work and selected the Bear Creek stone, found in an undeveloped quarry, which had never been tested by use or otherwise. This selection satisfied everybody, and criticism ceased. The Bear Creek stone would seem to have been good, but the quarry

ran out and failed to furnish the requisite amount; the remaining stone put in the foundation by this board were obtained in Van Buren county from Rock Creek. The latter, while possibly good stone, were quarried late in the fall, and being full of water were badly shattered during the severe winter of 1871 and 1872. An investigating committee appointed by the legislature took a great deal of testimony as to the condition of the masonry in the foundations. Among them Guy Wells, an eminent engineer and contractor, after examining the walls, reported that sixty-seven stone should be removed. This unfortunate condition brought more censure upon the commission than was deserved. The Democratic papers attacked them bitterly because they were selected on purely partisan lines. The Republican papers failed to defend because the proof of a lack of either knowledge or capacity was evident.

The general assembly of 1872 retired the old board and selected four commissioners, two from each political party. The act amended and approved April 10, 1872, read as follows: "There shall be established a board of commissioners consisting of the Governor, who shall be ex-officio president of the board, John G. Foote of Des Moines county, Maturin L. Fisher of Clayton county, and R. S. Finkbine and Peter A. Dey of Johnson county." The members of this board were required to give bonds in the sum of \$50,000, and were charged with the execution of the provisions of law in respect to the erection of the capitol. Their first important duty was to inspect the work already done and remove any part thereof, that, in their judgment, did not conform to proper standards of material and workmanship. They were limited to the expenditure of \$1,380,000, which was appropriated, and were required to direct their action with a view of the completion of the building for the sum of \$1,500,000—\$100,000 to be expended in that year, and \$125,000 annually thereafter.

As I am the only one left of the men selected, I feel that

I can speak freely, for there is no association of my entire life that I look back to with more satisfaction. John G. Foote was a merchant who had been reasonably successful in the management of his personal matters, and had practically retired at the time he came upon the board. Strictly honest and conscientious, he treated every matter that came up as he did his own affairs, and although liberal within the lines of strict justice, he never allowed sentiment or friendship to warp his judgment. He was early made chairman of the finance committee and held that position uninterruptedly until the commission was discharged by legislative enactment. So accurately were his accounts kept, (all payments going through his hands,) that the experts appointed by Gov. Wm. Larrabee, after months of examination, found a discrepancy of about two dollars, which Mr. Foote always insisted was their error, not his. He did not claim any special knowledge of mechanical construction, nor what material it was best to use under various conditions, but had an abiding faith in Mr. Finkbine's judgment. He rarely made any mistakes. I happened to be in Burlington a day or two before his death and saw him. He said, "I can live but a short time; it is best that I should go. During my illness I have thought a great deal about the capitol and my associates, and it has been a special source of satisfaction to me to know that an expenditure of nearly three million dollars was made and that there was no criticism from any source on the board. I shall die happy in the thought that the building of the capitol was an honest and wise expenditure of public money and that ours was a trust faithfully carried out."

The next member mentioned in the law was Maturin L. Fisher of Clayton county. Mr. Fisher had been president of the senate and a prominent figure in political and educational matters in the State. To the study of architecture he had devoted much time and attention. With all the classic orders he was familiar; he had studied the gothic and the renaissance architecture. He knew the quarries from which the

stone in all the great buildings of Europe were taken, and was familiar with the analysis of all building stone prominently in use. Strictly honest in thought and deed and with the learning of the scholar, Mr. Fisher was an encyclopedia from which the board drew information. Like Mr. Foote he had to depend to a certain degree upon others for the application of what he knew to existing circumstances. His death occurred to his own and our regret before the building was sufficiently advanced to give him the full idea of what it would be. Mr. Foreman, his successor, was a lawyer, a man of considerable ability, and well fitted for the position. The difficult questions were, however, generally settled before he came on the board, so that his action did not impress itself as strongly as that of the earlier members.

Gen. Ed Wright was early elected secretary, and afterwards, assistant superintendent. He devoted himself to the duties of his position with an energy and industry that made him invaluable. He had not the mechanical or technical knowledge of Mr. Finkbine, but the fidelity with which he discharged the trust gave him the full confidence of the board. No truer man ever held a public office.

The original board in their final report made the recommendation that, in the opinion of the board, it was the best policy for the State that the board of capitol commissioners should consist of not to exceed three persons, in which both parties should be represented, who should be appointed for the time occupied in building the capitol, subject to removal by the governor or legislature, for cause only, and that they should be paid a salary that would justify them in giving their whole time to the discharge of their duties during the continuance of the work.

The general assembly had learned by experience that it was not wise to continue the construction of the capitol by a purely partisan commission, and divided the members between the two political parties, retaining the governor as chairman of the board. Messrs. Foote and Finkbine were selected by

the Republican caucus; Mr. Fisher and myself by the Democratic caucus. My selection was due to the influence of the Hon. John P. Irish, a member of the house from Johnson county, who had been largely instrumental in securing the passage of the law and the appropriations. His brilliant addresses on the subject always filled the hall. Among the friends of the measure he was clearly foremost.

Shortly after the passage of the amended act the governor called a meeting of the board. Mr. Finkbine and I went to Des Moines on the same train. For the first time we talked over the duties imposed upon us, and discussed the best methods of managing the work. We agreed that we needed a superintendent who was more than capable. Before reaching Des Moines Mr. Finkbine said, "I would like to be superintendent of the building. Will you vote for me?" My reply was, that I would rather not answer that question now, but if insisted upon would do so. I had known Mr. Finkbine about fifteen years, but only slightly; for some reason, possibly political, I was prejudiced against him, and in addition had grave doubts as to his experience and capacity to fill the place, which we all recognized as a difficult one. In fact I knew no one whom I thought quite up to it. Mr. Fisher had this feeling in a greater degree, and expressed it to me in strong terms.

After one or two meetings it was agreed that Mr. Finkbine and I should examine the foundations already in and report what repairs were deemed necessary. This we did thoroughly and carefully, and at the end of the second day he asked what my conclusions were. To my answer that every stone must come out, he replied, "I had not gone as far as that, but perhaps you are right. Whether the capitol costs the State fifty thousand dollars more or less is a matter that will soon be forgotten, but any failure in the foundation will be a source of regret as long as the building stands."

As stated above, the commissioners were limited in the cost of the building to an expenditure of \$1,500,000. The

plans adopted by the former board were not changed except in detail, and it is but justice to say that for the purpose designed it would even now be difficult to better them. Mr. Finkbine and I were designated a committee to determine whether the plan adopted could be built for that amount. Most of the estimates he made. We reported against any changes in the plan already adopted, but thought the building could be put under roof by using cheap material, iron columns, wooden floors, and common glass, and that, leaving off domes and ornament generally, it might be made habitable.

The next general assembly gave the commission \$250,000 in addition to the \$1,500,000 already appropriated and instructed them to put in proper material. It soon became apparent that the people of the State wanted about as good a building as could well be constructed, and for this were willing to pay what it was worth. From that time the question of cost was largely eliminated when good work entered into competition with inferior.

It was necessary to remove and replace the defective walls and to get ready for future operations. Mr. Finkbine proposed to take charge of this work, as a member of the board, at the *per diem* fixed in the law. This was agreed to. The removal of the old walls showed such a condition of disintegration that the board had no fears of criticism as they dumped off the grounds the refuse of what had cost the State \$52,000. In arranging and organizing his forces, and in the selection of stone and the testing cements, Mr. Finkbine showed a knowledge that belonged to an expert, and, I think, favorably impressed every member of the board. It was not long before he was elected superintendent by unanimous vote, and from that time he had no more hearty support than from the Democratic members, who gave him their fullest confidence. This was not personal friendship, but a thorough conviction that no better man could be found. Until that time it was thought that the experience in large

buildings in the west had not been sufficient to produce competent men here. As time passed on, new questions arose, but I do not recall a single emergency that he had not planned to meet. He knew the value of iron work and iron framing quite as well as wood work and made his figures on contract material and labor that were always reliable. He was as familiar with the strains of thrust and tension as a bridge builder, and at the same time knew the cost of quarrying, dressing and laying stone, and the relative values of all cements in use. Mr. Piquenard, the architect, died during the progress of the work. Shortly afterward I called Mr. Finkbine's attention to what I feared was a miscalculation of weight on certain columns. He said, "I will figure this. You are an engineer and I a builder. The public would justly hold us responsible for any failure." It was found that additional supports were necessary. This defect was remedied, but under conditions that detract somewhat from the symmetry of the corridors.

Mr. Finkbine never attempted to belittle the acts of others, simply because opportunity offered. He was always desirous of stating their positions fully, and if he differed, he combatted their strong points fairly stated. I wish to illustrate this trait of his character, as there was at one time some feeling on the part of members of the old commission, arising from a misunderstanding of facts that, in justice to all, should be fully and finally corrected. On the 23d day of November, 1871, the corner stone of the new capitol was laid with due ceremony. Addresses were made by the Hon. James F. Wilson, Governor Merrill and Hon. John A. Kasson, and a poem was read by the Hon. J. B. Grinnell. On the corner stone the names of the commissioners and the architect were carved. When, in removing the defective stone in the foundation, it became necessary to displace this, Mr. Finkbine had it carefully boxed and put it in the back end of one of the warehouses. The reason he assigned was that if it were seen about the grounds, some one would be inclined

to make this excuse for criticising the old board. It lay there for some months. During the code session a member of the house introduced a joint resolution which directed that the names should be removed from the corner stone and that the word "Iowa" and nothing else should be carved upon it. The instructions of the legislature were carried out. This violation of good taste and the obliteration of the marks of an historic event were, by many, charged against Mr. Finkbine, as taking an advantage of the men he had succeeded. In his nature nothing of this kind could exist, and every precaution that he could adopt was taken to prevent just what was done.

He opposed the gilding of the central dome. This was largely copied from the dome of the Invalides in Paris, which was gilded. His idea was that the gilding was suggested by the bad taste and the predilection for tawdry ornament that belonged to the period of the First Empire. When, however, the gilding was determined upon, he did all in his power to have the work well done and seemed to all intents well satisfied. He never afterward criticised it.

I have said he knew accurately the value of labor and material. On one occasion an Indianapolis firm which had done some considerable work about the capitol was asked to bid upon some iron stairways amounting to a few thousand dollars. Mr. Finkbine had calculated the cost. Upon getting their bid, which was extremely high, he wrote them a note in which he stated that their figuring man was probably not at home. Shortly after he received a telegram that their expert would be in Des Moines the next day. As I had seen Mr. Finkbine's figures, I had some curiosity to compare them and found a difference of only twenty dollars.

There was one peculiarity about Mr. Finkbine that I have rarely noticed in anyone else. He had had very good early advantages, and his attainments in scholarship were unusual among mechanics of his day. He had learned by contact the mental processes of the mechanic and day laborer, and he

had the tact to draw out from them what they knew, without seeming to be a learner. He assumed the manners and followed closely the train of thought of the men with whom he mingled and rarely failed to extract something that he might in the future use. He was a student of Miami University, and while there learned how to study, which after all is the great desideratum of institutions of learning. The popular estimate of Mr. Finkbine is, that he was a rough unhewn block, and that out of his inner consciousness he evolved the qualities that made him master of every situation in which he was placed. There never was a greater mistake. He owed more than any man in his line, I ever knew, to mental training and study. This was balanced by that broad common sense that prevented him from being a man with one idea. He was a builder, not an artist, and of the conceptions of the artist he knew little; but the model once made he could construct it in marble, stone, or metal so mechanically that it would be as imperishable as the material in which it was wrought. An example of this occurred in the north and south porticos of the capitol. The entablature between the central columns was of sandstone; the space so great that the stone was hardly able to bear its own weight, much less the mass above. Mr. Finkbine threw an arch from the columns and supported the stone by rods fastened to the entablature by lewis, all of which were so concealed that probably no one has ever questioned the strength of the material. A Chicago architect meeting this same difficulty in the old Chamber of Commerce, supported his entablature by heavy iron girders below and bolted them through, disfiguring the entire front.

In this, as in all contingencies that arose, Mr. Finkbine had thought out his plans and was ready to meet the exigencies. This ability to meet every emergency of life as it arises, is, in my judgment, true greatness.

Fifteen years have passed since the commission was disbanded. Yet Mr. Finkbine's name is as thoroughly associ-

ated as ever in the popular mind with the building of the capitol. For the present generation it is his memorial, and may remain so longer than carved tablet would endure.

IOWA CITY, JULY 20, 1901.

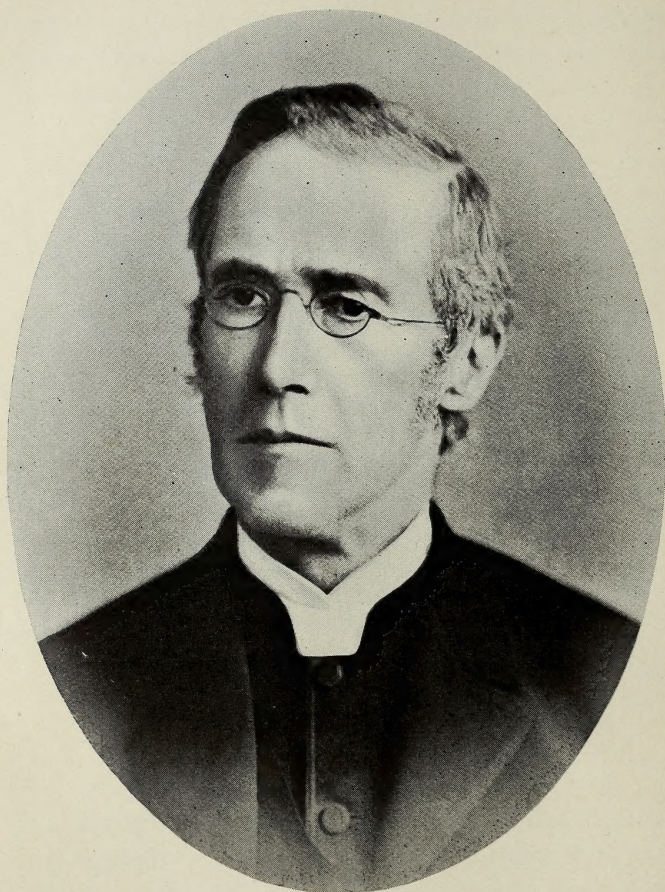
TO THE REV. WILLIAM SALTER, D. D.

BY REV. CHAS. E. PERKINS.

Time lays his burden gently on the head
 Of those high-minded ones who love the truth,
 And follow her high lead. With stately tread
 Their feet press forward. Gentleness and truth
 Their course inspire; sweetness and light,
 Honor and faith attend their steps each day.
 So Time, who loves the righteous soul, his flight
 Makes manifest as softly as he may.
 And though the hair be silvered, and the flesh
 Pale to a finer whiteness, in the eyes
 The clear light shines, while warm and fresh,
 The heart, with loving fervor ever flies,
 And year by year the mind grows yet more nobly wise.
 Thus, thanks to God, life writes an unstained page,
 And shines most glorious in the gracious youth of age.

—*Congregational Iowa, May, 1901.*

BEAUTIES OF ABOLITIONISM.—When abolition was preaching against slavery it voted so that Texas should be annexed and slavery extended. It pretended to be in favor of the abolition of the black laws in Ohio, and voted so as to be sure that the friends of these same black laws might get into power. Its political consistency is very excruciating. It punishes where it pretends to heal—tortures where it proposes to soothe. It has a most lively sympathy for the suffering slave and permits the poor to die at its own door. It has a holy horror of wrong, and is quite contented with the social evils in its path. Amiable abolitionism! Verily thou art a contradiction.—*Bloomington Herald, October 30, 1846.*



Respy,
W. H. Barris.

Curator.

REV. WILLIS HERVEY BARRIS, D. D.

Protestant Episcopal clergyman, geologist, and educator—one of the founders
and curator of the Davenport (Iowa) Academy of Sciences.

REV. WILLIS HERVEY BARRIS, D. D.

BY DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

Professor Willis Hervey Barris, D. D., died at his home in Davenport, Iowa, on June 10th, 1901, full of years and honors and of the loving esteem of all who knew him. His was a life of such usefulness to mankind, such devotion to high principles, and of such value to the State of Iowa, of which he was a citizen forty-six years, that it is fitting THE ANNALS should contain a record of at least its principal events and activities.

Dr. Barris was born in Beaver county, Penn., on July 9th, 1821, spent the years of his early boyhood at his father's home and, in 1835, at the age of fourteen years, entered Allegheny college at Meadville, Penn. Upon graduating with the degree of A. B. in 1839, he entered upon a post-graduate course of civil engineering in the same college, which course he completed in 1841. In 1854 Allegheny college also conferred upon him the degree of A. M. At the time of his graduation the study of geology and that of biological sciences were not included in the curriculum of any American college; but as a boy he became deeply interested in those studies and as he grew up to manhood that interest developed into mastery of several branches, of which geology and paleontology were his favorites, and in which he prosecuted original studies with marked success.

Upon completing his secular college studies, at the age of twenty-one years, he entered regularly upon his theological course and related studies, and was graduated, in 1850, from the General Theological Seminary at New York city, the oldest theological institution of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States. He was ordained priest by Bishop De Lancey of New York on September 19th, 1852.

It was with such an educational equipment, and endowed by nature with a most congenial and catholic spirit, that he entered upon his chosen life work in 1851, when he became

assistant to the rector of St. Luke's church at Rochester, N. Y., the Rev. Henry Lee, who afterward became bishop of Iowa. In the next year he became rector of St. Luke's church at Brockport, N. Y. While engaged in the work of this village parish he yielded to the solicitation of Bishop Lee and also removed to Iowa, becoming rector of Trinity church at Iowa City in 1855. After four years' labor at Iowa City, in 1859, he became rector of Christ church at Burlington, Iowa, where he lived and labored until 1866. He was then called to the Ely professorship of ecclesiastical history (including Greek and Hebrew) in the theological department of Griswold college at Davenport; that chair having been created and endowed with special reference to securing the services of Dr. Barris as its occupant. He accepted that important position and performed its duties with abundant success for twenty-five years.

Although Dr. Barris was eminent as a scholar, a scientist and a citizen, he was above all a churchman; and no doubt his great services to the church at whose altars he ministered so faithfully, whose youth and candidates for its ministry he instructed so thoroughly, and in the management of whose organic and charitable affairs he took so active a part and performed such a multitude of laborious services, will be duly recorded in its special publications. In this sketch, therefore, I will refer to him mainly as a citizen, a scientist, and a personal friend.

At every place to which he was called to labor for the church he immediately applied himself in a hardly less energetic manner to two secular subjects. One was a thorough investigation of the geology of his district, and the other a personal identification of himself with the intellectual interests of the community in which he lived, both within and without the pale of his church. His geological investigations were accomplished by numerous, and often long, excursions on foot, and occasional journeys by conveyance; and the closeness of his observations made all their results of

scientific value. By means of his discreet association with his fellow citizens he became fully acquainted with the educational status and needs of the whole community, from the lowest to the highest grades of instruction, and was always ready to give his aid and counsel toward their improvement. Wherever, within his reach, there were scientific associations or personal material for their formation, he at once became a leading spirit in their organization and spared no pains or labor to make them successful.

These important secular labors of Dr. Barris began in Iowa while he lived at Iowa City. There he studied the Devonian formation of the Iowa river valley, and it was there he became a member of the board of trustees (which afterward became the board of regents) of the Iowa State University, in 1858. Upon his removal to Burlington he found himself in the midst of a geological locality that, because of the richness of its rocks in certain fossils, especially the Crinoids, has become well known wherever geology is studied. He at once began the investigation of these rocks and their fossils, made large collections of the latter and, during his whole residence at Burlington, he contributed largely to the creation of that scientific interest with which the Burlington limestone is now regarded by all geologists. Portions of his collections of the Burlington fossils went to the British museum, and his correspondence shows that the authorities of that great institution made flattering acknowledgment of their value. But the most important portion went to the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge, Mass., and a letter from its founder, Prof. Louis Agassiz, speaks in the highest terms of the scientific value of the work that Dr. Barris was then doing in Burlington. Furthermore, a large number of the new forms that have been described and published in works by various authors, notably in the great work of Wachsmuth and Springer on the Crinoids, were first discovered by Dr. Barris in the Burlington limestone and other Iowa formations.

Much as he loved Burlington and its rocks and hills, he could not withstand the inducement held out by Griswold college to enter upon educational work there; for the church had no better field of labor to offer any man, and he was known to be peculiarly fitted for the work. But in giving up his rectorship at Burlington and accepting the professorship at Davenport he merely changed the form of his work for the church and gave up only a part of his paleontological studies. Davenport also gave him a broader field for scientific usefulness than he had before enjoyed, and he entered upon his work there with singular devotion. As soon as his college work was well established at Griswold he began to make a careful study of the geology of the region round about Davenport, and from time to time he published valuable articles as results of those and previous studies, mainly in the reports of the Geological Survey of Illinois and the proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences. He was largely instrumental in founding the Davenport Academy and one of its original members. He was made a member of its board of trustees at its first meeting and was elected its president in 1876. He held other important offices in the academy, among which were those of curator and corresponding secretary, the laborious duties of which he performed many years. Indeed, he became so long and thoroughly identified with the executive work of that important institution that the citizens of Davenport, and even the members of the Academy, were accustomed to think of it in connection with his personality.

His establishment in educational work at Davenport together with his previous and continued scientific work, made his name so well known, not only within, but far beyond, the limits of his State that he was made an honorary member of various scientific societies, and in 1869 Griswold college conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Many efforts were also made to secure his services in other institutions, both ecclesiastical and secular, some of which were so

important that they would have appealed strongly to the ambition of the ablest men. Although these "Macedonian cries" were responsively appreciated by Dr. Barris he saw the line of his duty too clearly drawn at Davenport to justify him in severing his connection with it there. He therefore wisely remained and finished his life work there, where his opportunities were ample and his surroundings congenial.

It would be impossible, except in an exhaustive memoir, to discuss the various ways in which Dr. Barris made himself conspicuously useful as a citizen, or to trace the beneficent influence of his life and teachings upon the people, both old and young, with whom he came in contact. Much of his work and influence must doubtless go unrecorded, but it will be only with death that those who knew him personally will cease to derive practical benefit from them.

Dr. Barris was twice married. His first wife was Miss Caroline M. Harrison of Meadville, Penn., to whom he was united October 7, 1840. She died in 1850, leaving him with two young daughters, one of whom, Mary Elizabeth, survives and is now the wife of Archdeacon S. R. J. Hoyt, D. D., of Davenport. His second wife was Miss Caroline P. Rathbone of Le Roy, N. Y., to whom he was united on May 9, 1854. She was his faithful and helpful companion through all the years of his most successful and abundant labors, and now survives him. Their three surviving children are Carrie Rathbone, the wife of Mr. Edward S. Hammatt of Davenport, and the Misses Amanda Ganson and Bessie Lovering Barris.

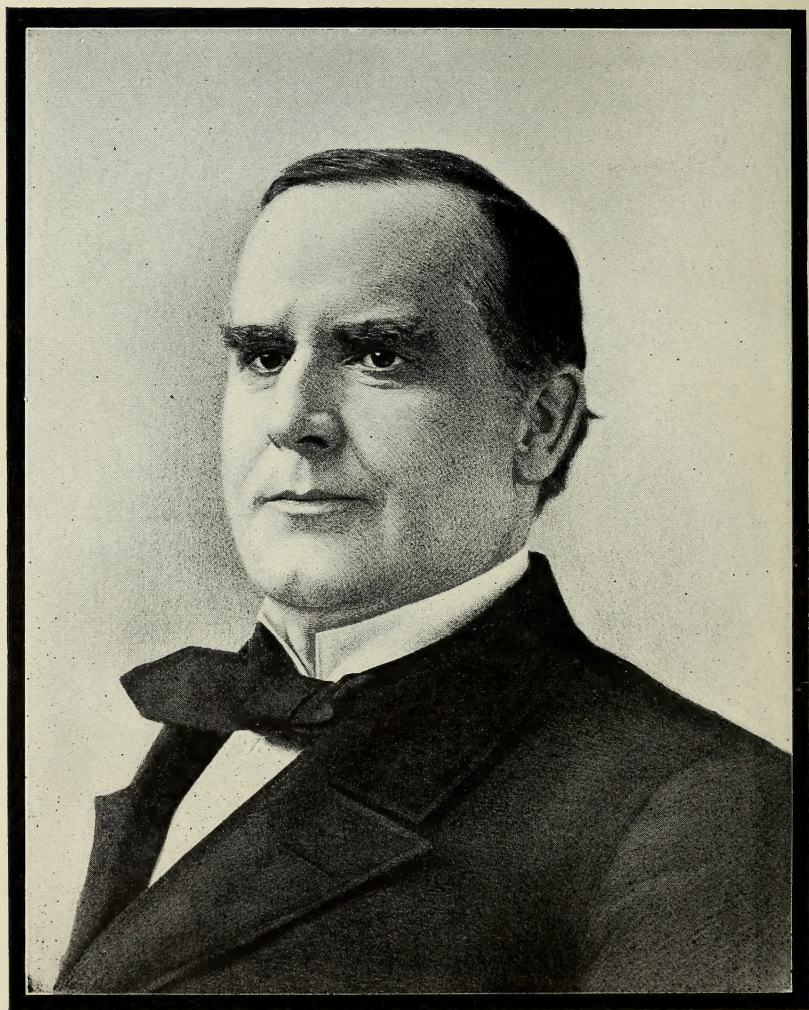
The accompanying portrait represents, to a good degree, his personal appearance, and suggests something of his personality to those who knew him. Those who were thus favored, however, will not need this memento to remind them of his genial manner, his frank and kindly speech, and his quickly responsive interest in everything that is good; and he was disposed to see "good in everything." His tact and affability with both the wise and the ignorant were such that no one was ever embarrassed in his company, and his

sincerity and quiet dignity were such that no one ever thought of taking a liberty in his presence. My acquaintance with him began by means of the identity of the subjects of our scientific investigations, and we often met for an interchange of views. It was my good fortune to secure his confidence, and my privilege to call him my friend during more than forty years; and I never had an interview with him, or received a letter from him, that did not add to the sum of my life's enjoyments, to my stock of knowledge, and to my confidence in humanity. He was an ideal friend, an eminently useful citizen, a profound scholar, a most efficient teacher, and a devoted Christian minister. The memory of such a man is a blessing to the State.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, SEPTEMBER 6, 1901.

MR. ABRAHAM SLIMMER of Waverly does not weary in well doing. His latest philanthropic proposal is for a free hospital for Bremer county. He proposes to give his home to the Sisters of Mercy, the same to be used exclusively for hospital purposes, and admission to be free to people of all races and religions. Here is a happy state of affairs; a Jew offers to give his money over to the care of a Catholic order who are to minister to the welfare of a community altogether Protestant.—*Des Moines Leader*, Sept. 7, 1901.

DEATH OF JAMES G. EDWARDS.—We are pained to hear of the death of that veteran editor and kind-hearted man, James G. Edwards, late of *The Burlington Hawk-Eye*. Mr. E. has been connected with the press of Iowa for thirteen years. In 1838 he established *The Hawk-Eye* in Burlington, where he continued its publication until a few weeks before his death. He was an upright, warm-hearted man; a bold and vigorous writer, and an estimable citizen. . . . —*Keosauqua American*, Aug. 9, 1851.



PRESIDENT WILLIAM McKINLEY.

BORN NILES, O., JAN. 29, 1843.

SHOT AND FATALLY WOUNDED BY AN ANARCHIST, AT BUFFALO, N. Y., SEPT. 9, 1901.

DIED SEPTEMBER 14, 1901.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

CHARLES MASON AND GEORGE H. YEWELL.

Those who have read *THE ANNALS* during the past eight years have not forgotten the several articles which have thrown a most favorable light upon the character and public services of the illustrious Charles Mason. How he early took his stand upon legal and judicial grounds against the encroachments of human slavery, was set forth in the first case decided in the Supreme Court of Iowa Territory. This decision was copied into *THE ANNALS*, (3d series, Vol. 2, pp. 531-9,) from that rare first volume of Iowa Supreme Court Reports of 1839. With no thought of disparaging the labors of his associates, lawyers and judges of later years seem to arrive at the conclusion that the bulk of the work performed by the Territorial Supreme Court came from the brain and pen of Charles Mason. He was a many-sided, exceedingly able, accomplished man. He entered West Point Military Academy July 1, 1825, and graduated four years later at the head of his class. The next man below him was Robert E. Lee, afterwards commander-in-chief of the Confederate armies. Joseph E. Johnston, O. M. Mitchell, the astronomer, and several others who afterwards rose to eminence, were his classmates. Immediately upon his graduation he was promoted to brevet second lieutenant in the United States engineers, and chosen principal assistant professor of engineering in the Military Academy. He continued teaching until December 31, 1831, when he resigned. The following year he was admitted to the bar at Newburg, N. Y. He was employed as editor of *The New York Evening Post* during the years 1835 and '36. He settled in Burlington, Iowa, then in Michigan territory, in 1837, where he became aide-

de-camp to Gov. Henry Dodge. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa Territory July 4, 1838, in which capacity he served until May 16, 1847. In the latter year he acted as attorney for the State of Iowa in the adjustment of its southern boundary. He became one of the three commissioners to draft an entire code of laws for the State in 1848. This is what is known as "The Code of 1851," from the fact that that was the year in which it was adopted. From this time forward until his death, February 22, 1882, at Burlington, he held various state and federal offices, in all of which he gave evidence of the most distinguished ability.

We present in this number of THE ANNALS the first of two articles from the pen of Mr. George H. Yewell, N. A., giving his recollections of Charles Mason. From his boyhood Judge Mason was perhaps his closest and most valued friend—certainly one upon whose friendship he could always rely. The reader will agree with us that the writing of these articles was a labor of love upon the part of Mr. Yewell. They become the more valuable because they show a side of Mr. Mason's character—graphically told in his own private letters—of which there has hitherto been little or no public knowledge. He realized instinctively that the struggling boy had real genius in the direction of art, and made it his business to seek his acquaintance, learn his ambitions, and give him early and substantial encouragement in the prosecution of his studies. Aside from such facts as bear upon his own affairs, Mr. Yewell makes reference to a cruel slander which was circulated against Judge Mason. This he entirely refutes. At the outbreak of the rebellion Judge Mason tendered his services to the government in any capacity in which he could be useful. Having been educated by the nation, and graduated with such honors, there would seem to have been little doubt that he was fitted for active service and a high command in the army of the Union. His offer not only received no attention, but he was denounced as a "copperhead," a man whose sympathies were against the

Union and with the Southern Confederacy. He had too much pride to beg government or state officials for a mere position. This slander, as Mr. Yewell shows, was wholly without foundation. Not only was Charles Mason as loyal to the government as any man in our State, but he had distinguished himself by his judicial protection of a colored man who would otherwise possibly have been given up to an alleged owner in Missouri. He had no love for "the peculiar institution," as slavery was called in those days. It is to the lasting honor of the jurisprudence of Iowa Territory that the first decision of its supreme court discharged the alleged fugitive slave, Ralph, "from all custody and constraint," and permitted him to go free. That decision was written by Judge Mason and will remain as long as Iowa has a history.

Readers of *THE ANNALS* will prize the information which Mr. Yewell's recollections present relative to his own career, though he tells the story very modestly. The interest of Judge Mason in the boy arose from seeing his crayon caricatures of men and events in Iowa City more than fifty years ago. Some of those drawings are still preserved on the walls of the State Historical Society, where they are valued beyond price. Mr. Yewell became a student under Thomas Hicks in New York, and later a pupil of Thomas Couture, in Paris. His early pictures included scenes of common outdoor life, with many Venetian and Egyptian subjects, the most of which have found their way into the leading art galleries, but for many years he has given his time to portrait painting, in which he has achieved a national reputation. The State of Iowa now owns nine of his portraits, all of which possess very great merit. These include the following names: Governors Chambers, Lowe and Kirkwood, Gen. G. M. Dodge, Hiram Price, Theodore S. Parvin, and Judges Charles Mason, John F. Dillon and George G. Wright. The Historical Department is in possession of four of his etchings and several of his original drawings.

The articles and references to Judge Mason which have

heretofore appeared in our pages were directed more especially to his career as a jurist. They are now admirably supplemented by these most interesting chapters by Mr. Yewell. Altogether they present a record of public services, of loyalty to country, and of warm sympathy for those needing encouraging words and assistance in the path of youthful effort, of which Iowans will always be proud.

TRANSPORTATION IN WAR TIMES.

In his article on "The Battle of Athens," which appeared in the last ANNALS, Gen. Cyrus Bussey referred to Mr. Joseph Shepard, assistant general manager of the western division of the United States Express, who aided him in his hurried distribution of arms. This reference brought a letter from Mr. Shepard from which we extract the following:

No doubt Gen. Bussey refers to a shipment from Keokuk to Council Bluffs, Iowa, for the Fourth Iowa Infantry. I had charge of this business from Keokuk, and at Eddyville the entire shipment was transferred to the Western Stage Company's coaches and transported through from there via Des Moines. The time consumed was from four to five days, and there were eighteen coach loads of arms. I was superintendent of our company during the war, and everything in Iowa that went by express was carried on the stage company's coaches. I remember Gen. Bussey very well, and remember making a trip with him across Iowa about that time, when he was on his way to join some regiment in the south.

This was a still later shipment of arms, which had been sent by Gen. J. C. Fremont to take the place of those which had been appropriated by Gen. Bussey to arm the companies along the border. Owing to the unsettled condition of that section of the country no effort was made by Gen. Bussey to have the arms returned. Col. D. B. Hillis, who succeeded him as aide-de-camp to the governor, took charge of them.

Mr. Shepard is still actively engaged in managing the large affairs of the U. S. Express Company at Chicago, though he is not far from 73 years of age. Forty years ago few pioneers in Iowa were more widely known. He could

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

count among his personal friends such names as those of Gov. Kirkwood, Gen. G. M. Dodge, Judges George G. Wright and Caleb Baldwin, and other leading men of that day. When he left the old farm in Cattaraugus county, N. Y., where he was reared, he started to learn the trade of a printer. He was a clean, well-behaved country lad, his heart overflowing with kindness and good humor, bright and jovial, seldom or never at variance with his juvenile associates in the little old-fashioned country printing office. His raiment, however, was after a style which the effusive reporter of these days would describe as "'way back." The shirt, for instance, was made of home-grown wool, by no means remarkable for fineness, colored "madder red," with a wide turn-down collar. But in those days "we boys" were glad to get those stout woolen shirts, spun and woven by our good mothers, even when we went to the county seat to learn to be printers. He wrought at his trade for several years, becoming widely known as a rapid pressman. He could print "a token"—240 sheets—on a hand press, in much less time than any other man in Cattaraugus, Chautauqua or Erie counties, N. Y., or in Erie county, Pa. One traveling in that region may even now hear aged printers speak of "Joe Shepard," the fast hand-pressman of fifty years ago. He "still lives" thereabouts in the legends of the craft. But he gave up printing for a humble place in the employment of the U. S. Express Co. From this starting point, through industry, undivided attention to business, and fidelity to the interests of his employers, he rose steadily step by step until he became the assistant general manager of the company's western department.

"RED DOG" MONEY—ANOTHER WORD.

The two following paragraphs were accidentally omitted from our comment on Maj. Sherman's article on the State Bank of Iowa, which appeared in the last number of THE ANNALS. We print them here because they contain certain

interesting facts bearing upon the condition of Iowa money matters prior to 1858.

Some instances of the common experiences of men at that day will plainly indicate the character of the famous "red-dog" currency. Mr. Robert McNulty, an old soldier of the Fourth Iowa Infantry, relates that he once started from Des Moines, as one of four drivers of ox teams, bound for Burlington or Keokuk for merchandise for Mr. William Moore—better known about the "Raccoon Forks," where he still abides, as "Billy Moore." There were four wagons in the expedition, each drawn by three or four yokes of oxen. The party in charge, when about fourteen miles from the capital, learned that the "red-dog" money which he was taking with him to pay traveling expenses was worthless out of sight of home. The farmers would not take it in exchange for corn for the oxen. A halt was therefore called and he returned to Des Moines, where Mr. Moore furnished him with different, if not better, money. This delay caused the "expedition" to lose two days.

Maj. Sherman also states that when he went east in those days, he was compelled to carry three kinds of currency. That which was good to the Mississippi was worthless from that point east. Another lot would pay expenses from the river to the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania. From there on to New York City eastern currency alone could be used.

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

In THE ANNALS for July (p. 154-5) we gave a summary of the effort in Washington, Pa., to found a county historical society, heartily commending the movement. Since the appearance of that article commencements have been made in at least two Iowa counties. The pioneer in this movement is the county of Lucas, where the effort had the hearty sympathy of that good man and eminently useful citizen, Col. Warren S. Dungan, so well known as state senator and lieu-

tenant governor. This organization dates from June 10, 1901, when a constitution and by-laws were adopted and officers elected. The officers are as follows: President, Warren S. Dungan; vice-president, Thomas Gay; secretary, Miss Effie M. Dungan; treasurer, B. F. Bates; curator, Miss Margaret W. Brown. The object of the society is "to collect and purchase books, papers and records, writings and relics, legal, military and other materials, relating to the history of Lucas county, Iowa, but may include such material as is illustrative of the history of the State and Nation." This pioneer society starts out with every prospect of success. Col. Dungan is a collector of historical data, and has himself had occasion to make many researches in genealogy and local history.

The next society to perfect its organization was that of Decatur county, the location of which is the town of Lamoni. The officers are as follows: President, Fred M. Smith; secretary, Ed. L. Kellogg; assistant secretary, Carrie Judd; curators, K. C. Kellogg and P. A. Smith.

Such a society is much talked of in Boone, but as yet no action has been taken. Some preliminary steps have also been taken in Scott county.

IOWA SCIENTISTS.

Dr. Charles R. Keyes, of Des Moines, published a highly suggestive article in *The Arena*, New York, for July, 1901, on "Geology in the Twentieth Century," in which he sums up the progress made in the past, and outlines to some extent the problem which confronts investigators in this great and constantly expanding field of knowledge. This article was written with such wide information, and is so complete in itself, that it would not be just to attempt to copy any brief portion of it. It should be read as a whole. We mention it, however, for the purpose of stating that he enumer-

ates eight "names most prominently associated with glacial work." These names are those of Penck, Giekie, Croll and Schmidt in Europe, and Chamberlain, McGee, Dawson and Leverett in this country. "As long," writes Dr. Keyes, "as geology lasts the works of these scientists will remain classics." Our readers will share the pride of the editor of THE ANNALS, when we state that Messrs. McGee and Leverett were born in Iowa. The first named is in the prime of life with the promise of many years of scientific study before him. Mr. Leverett is still a young man, whose residence is Denmark, Lee county, Iowa. Each has made a world-wide reputation as an original investigator.

In this connection—as a scientist of the same distinguished class—we may also include the name of Hon. Frank Springer, now of Las Vegas, N. M. He is a paleontologist of the highest rank, the author of original work which is known and recognized in all enlightened countries. He also was born in Iowa.

REVOLUTIONARY HEROES HONORED.

A very commendable disposition exists on the part of many people besides the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution to do honor to their illustrious ancestry, and this in numberless instances has been productive of results which meet with widespread approval. Several years ago Mr. Kendall Young, the founder of the library at Webster City which bears his name, while on a visit to the state of Maine, ascertained that the monument erected at the grave of his grandfather—one of the famous Boston Tea Party of 1773—had nearly disappeared through the natural decay of its material. He immediately ordered the erection of a monument of solid Maine granite at the patriot grave, with an inscription setting forth the memorable service of his ancestor. Quite recently Mrs. George White Potter of Burlington, Iowa, has succeeded in establishing the genealogical record, from the

immigrant ancestor, of her great-grandfather, Silas Aldrich, a soldier of the revolution. The place where he was buried being well known, Mrs. Potter wrote the secretary of war, suggesting the removal of the remains of Silas Aldrich to the military cemetery at West Point. Secretary Root at once ordered this to be done, and the removal and reinterment were carried out under his direction. The military history of Silas Aldrich runs in this wise: he joined Washington's army as a water boy at the age of nine years, but as soon as he was old enough he enlisted and served under Col. Humphrey Greeton, as a soldier, until the close of the war. He was at Valley Forge during the terrible winter of 1777-8 when the army endured such terrible hardships, of which he had his full share. The official records show that he participated in many battles.

DISCOVERY OF MINERAL COAL IN AMERICA.

The most important factor in the recent unparalleled advancement of our industrial activities is the existence, under easily accessible conditions, of exhaustless quantities of cheap fuel in the form of mineral coal. The discovery of this substance in America has been commonly ascribed in time to the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in place to Pennsylvania. We now know that there are still earlier records.

It is therefore a fact that deserves more than passing mention, that the first discovery of mineral coal in this country did not take place in regions first settled by the white man, in districts where it is now most extensively mined, and known to be widely distributed, but in the very heart of the American continent. Among the very earliest discoveries are those in the Mississippi valley, very close to the present boundaries of our own State. This was nearly fifty years before coal was recognized in the Pennsylvania region.

The earliest record of the existence of mineral fuel in the form of coal in this country appears to be that of the Jesuit missionaries in the Assiniboiné country. As early as 1659, in referring to the Poulak (Assiniboines), mention is made of mineral coal as follows:

As wood is scarce and very small with them nature has taught them to burn coal (*charbon de terre*) in its place, and to cover their wigwams with skins.

Coming nearer home, that illustrious and determined French explorer and Jesuit missionary, Father Louis Hennepin, states in the *Journal* of his travels, and in an English edition gives the location on a map,* that on the Illinois river above Fort Creve Coeur, which was situated not far from the present town of Ottawa, coal exists. That he was not mistaken is clearly shown by subsequent accounts.

This discovery was eight years later also considered by La Salle, in his letters regarding the natural products found along the Illinois river. In the recent reprint of these letters by Margry† the following passage is of great interest:

Il y a aussy quantite d'ardoisieres et de charbon de terre; quatre lieues plus bas, a droite, on trouve la rivier des Pestigonki dans laquelle j'ay trouve un morceau de cuivre et une espece de metal que j'envoyay, il y a deuxans, a M. de Frontenac dont je n'ay point eu de response, et que je croy de la bronze, si elle se trouve en mine.

Coal was not mined in Pennsylvania until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the earliest record being 1704, twenty years after the privilege was granted to William Penn. The anthracite was known in the Wyoming district in Pennsylvania as early as 1766; and it was discovered in the Lehigh region in 1791. The Virginia coals near Richmond were mined for the first time in 1750; and at the close of the Revolutionary war were shipped from this district to Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

C. R. K.

*New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, etc., English ed., map, 1698, London.

†Mem. et doc. pour servir la l'histoire des origines Francaises des pays d'outre-mere; t. II, Lettres de Cavalier de la Salle et correspondance relative a ses entreprises (1676-1685), p. 175. Paris, 1879.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

CONRAD YOUNGERMAN was born in Hesse-Cassel, Germany, December 15, 1833; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, September 10, 1901. The name of his family in the old country was spelled Jungermann, but changed in America to the present form to preserve the correct pronunciation. When his school days were over he was apprenticed to learn the trade of a stone-cutter, at which he served a term of years, becoming a practical and expert workman. He came to America in 1854, worked awhile in the vicinity of New York, and then went on to Illyria, Ohio, where he still followed his trade. On the 11th of September, 1856, he was married to Miss Minne Stark, who survives her husband. She was born in Mecklenburg, Germany, in 1835, and immigrated to this country with her parents. Immediately after their marriage the young couple came to Iowa and settled in Des Moines, where he established himself in business as a stone-cutter, taking his first building contracts in 1857. Four years later he began to manufacture brick, increasing his facilities until he was able to put upon the market from 2,000,000 to 6,000,000 per annum. Meantime his work as contractor and builder constantly increased. He erected scores if not hundreds of buildings, and among them some of the largest and most important structures in Des Moines. Like the dutiful and affectionate son he always was, he visited the fatherland in 1872 for the purpose of bringing back his aged mother, who had been left a widow in his boyhood, and who thenceforth lived with him to the end of her days. One remarkable fact in relation to Mr. Youngerman was this, that he never forgot a friend who had stood by him in his earlier years. When he came to Des Moines he soon met Gen. M. M. Crocker, then a young lawyer in the first years of his practice. They became well acquainted, and Crocker advised and befriended him at a time when he needed friends. This he never forgot, and he strove in many ways to keep green the memory of that ideal Iowa soldier. One of his largest and most durable structures in Des Moines (corner of Fifth and Locust streets) bears the name of "Crocker Building." It is seldom, indeed, that a man in the rush and worry of an active business life has thus paid tribute to the memory of a friend who had been dead nearly forty years. But it attests the abiding steadfastness of Mr. Youngerman's friendships. He was to the end of his days an important factor in the business interests and development of the capital city. "In all his business dealings with hundreds of tenants, business firms and individuals, he was known as a man whose word was as good as gold, as a man who would not misrepresent anything, a man who was never selfish and never unkind." "He started in an unknown land without a penny to his name, and by his own industry and thrift worked his way to the top." The Des Moines daily papers paid the highest tributes of respect to the memory of this exemplary man and useful citizen.

ROBERT S. FINKBINE was born at Oxford, Ohio, July 9, 1828; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, July 8, 1901. He was married at Oxford, Ohio, in 1852, to Miss Rebecca Finch, who survives him. Mr. Finkbine came to Iowa in 1850 and settled in Iowa City, where he resided until 1880, when he removed to Des Moines. He had, however, been a member of the board of capitol commissioners from 1873. The appreciative tribute paid to Mr. Finkbine's memory upon the occasion of his funeral, by Hon. Peter A. Dey, of Iowa City, obviates the necessity of any extended notice in this place. Mr. Dey's remarks appear elsewhere in this number of THE ANNALS, and very clearly set forth the services of his deceased associate upon the capitol commission. In 1890 Mr. Finkbine was appointed a member of the board of public works by the mayor of Des Moines and served four years.

He was at an earlier period connected with the building of the blind asylum at Vinton, and with two or three of the university buildings at Iowa City. He was also occasionally employed in the erection of county buildings elsewhere in the State. The people of Johnson county sent him to the Iowa house of representatives, where he served two regular terms—1864 and 1866. As a law maker he was at once alert, courageous, clear-headed and honest. Always courteous, never posing, doing nothing for mere show or effect, few men have ever so thoroughly commanded the respect and confidence of their associates in legislation. It was greatly due to his experience and energetic, judicious action, that the commissioners were able in the next decade to secure the large appropriations necessary to carry forward the capitol to completion. No suspicion of seeking self-aggrandizement in legislation, or in awarding public contracts, ever attached to his reputation. As a man of affairs, possessing rare executive ability, and the most exact knowledge of every department of his profession as a builder, Mr. Finkbine proved himself equal to the great responsibilities which devolved upon him. His knowledge was both minute and extensive, and he was able to meet every exigency that arose in the construction of our beautiful capitol. No structure ever erected in the State has evoked to such an extent the spontaneous pride of our people. It is the proud boast of everybody that not a dollar was wasted or stolen during the construction of that great work.

CAPT. J. E. WILKINS was born near Canal Fulton, Wayne county, Ohio, April 5, 1830; he died at Carl Junction, Mo., June 9, 1901. He and his wife made the overland journey to California in 1853, where they remained three years, after which they returned to Geneseo, Ill. During the civil war Mr. Wilkins enlisted in the 112th Illinois Infantry, in which he served three years as a private soldier. He was captured at the battle of Riceville with a part of his regiment and sent to Libby prison. He was one of the famous party of ninety-seven who tunneled out of the prison and escaped, but before he reached the Union lines he was recaptured and sent to Macon, Ga. On the way thither he leaped from the train with other prisoners and again escaped. This time he was successful and reached the Union lines, but was so emaciated and broken in health that he was sent home on sick leave. After some months he returned and was promoted to a captaincy. He was one of the last Union soldiers mustered out of the service. He removed to Iowa in 1870, and settled first in Victor, a few years later coming to Des Moines which was afterwards his residence. He established "The Fair Store" on the east side of the river in company with C. B. Dockstader, another soldier of the civil war. The partnership lasted seventeen years, and at its expiration he established a department store on West Walnut street, which was mainly in charge of his sons. Capt. Wilkins had made investments in certain zinc deposits near Carl Junction, Mo., and was visiting that point when he met with an accident which caused his death. In coming from the train he fell or stumbled over some obstacle from which he received injuries that rendered him insensible and from which he died the second morning afterward. Capt. Wilkins was a man of wide acquaintance and highly esteemed by all who knew him. He was a member of Kinsman Post, G. A. R., of Des Moines, and also of the Iowa Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. At the time of his death he was president of the Union of American War Prisoners. His sudden death was widely deplored. The public journals of Des Moines published elaborate notices of his life and patriotic services.

DR. A. C. ROBERTS was born in Queensberry township, Warren county, N. Y., January 15, 1830; he died at Ft. Madison, Iowa, July 27, 1901. As a boy he spent much of his youth in hard work on his father's farm, obtain-

ing his education mainly from the common schools. Later he attended a high school at Adrian, Mich., but most of his study was at home. He taught in the common schools previous to entering upon his medical studies. He graduated from the medical college at Ann Arbor, Mich., in 1854. He came to Iowa in 1859 and settled in Ft. Madison where he resided until his death. He was employed as a contract surgeon in 1862 in the government hospital at Keokuk, afterwards receiving the appointment of surgeon in the Twenty-first Missouri Infantry. He was mustered out with his regiment in 1866. While in the army he also served as brigade and division surgeon. He was present at the battles of Tupelo, Nashville, Fort Blakely and Mobile. He left the army with a proud record. Since the war he has also served as pension surgeon. He founded in 1869 and was thenceforth the owner and editor of *The Ft. Madison Democrat*. *The Keokuk Gate City* speaks of him as follows: "Dr. Roberts was one of nature's noblemen. His stalwart frame was the abiding place of a brave, generous, loyal spirit, the strength of which gave him his commanding place in the community. He was absolutely fearless in his editorials, making no compromise with what he believed was wrong, and never faltering in his battle for what he believed to be right, no matter what the odds against him. His was a kindly nature and he viewed the world with kindly eyes. He was devoted in his loyalty to his friends and to his doctrines, though sometimes it may have worked to his disadvantage. Yet his nature was such that he forgot personal considerations where honesty with his own conscience was involved. His style was dignified and scholarly, and in person he was a fine type of the courtly gentleman of the old school. He leaves behind as a priceless legacy the fragrant memory of a noble life well spent."

M. T. V. BOWMAN was born at Waterville, Maine, July 6, 1838; he died in the city of Des Moines, August 26, 1901. He attended Waterville and Hallowell academies and other institutions of learning, fitting himself for the profession of teaching. He taught in Ohio and Virginia, and was so employed in the last named state at the time of the John Brown raid. Returning to Maine he taught for a short time in the Hallowell grammar school. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted at once and was mustered in as a corporal in the First Maine Cavalry. He served in several non-commissioned offices, but was mustered out in 1862 or '63. In December of the latter year he re-enlisted and was at once promoted to first lieutenant and regimental commissary. His muster-out occurred at Petersburg, Va., August 1, 1865. Col. Bowman's service was active from the start. He was present in many of the great battles in northern Virginia, notably those of Winchester, the second Bull Run and Gettysburg. He was often detailed to the command of scouting parties, and was once for three weeks a prisoner in the hands of guerrillas. After the war he came to this State and settled (1866) in Newton, Jasper county. In 1870 he removed to Des Moines, since which time he has been engaged in the business of insurance and banking. He was one of the charter members of Crocker post, Grand Army of the Republic, and its second commander. He also belonged to the Iowa Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of which he was many years treasurer, and had served on the staffs of Governors Gear and Sherman. He always took a lively interest in educational matters, and for eleven years was a member of the executive board of Des Moines college. He was a man of the highest personal character, a brave and most useful soldier in the civil war, and a genial Christian gentleman whom it was always a pleasure to meet.

NATHAN HOYT BRAINERD was born in Bridgewater, N. H., January 11, 1818; he died in Iowa City, Iowa, July 31, 1901. He was married in 1840 to Miss Eliza Hatch, of Blanford, Mass., who survives him. After Mr.

Brainerd's school days he became an employe of one of the greatest axe-making plants in the world—that of Collins & Co., of Hartford, Conn. He served in this work for eleven years and was at the head of the axe-forging department. Mr. Brainerd came to Iowa in the year 1856 and settled in Iowa City, where for a time he was engaged in the grocery business. In 1861 Gov. Kirkwood appointed him his military secretary, a place of much importance, which he held until 1864. In December, 1863, he purchased *The Iowa City Republican* which he edited until 1874. Mr. Brainerd was an able and independent editor who became widely known throughout the State. He was appointed postmaster of Iowa City in 1872, which position he held four years. He was also a leading member of the Congregational church in Iowa City. As an editor he became a powerful force in the advancement of the industries and enterprises of that locality, and was universally esteemed as a liberal and public-spirited citizen. He was especially endeared to Gov. Kirkwood and their relations were close and confidential for many years.

EDWIN MANNING was born in South Coventry, Conn., February 8, 1810; he died at Keosauqua, Iowa, August 16, 1901. He came to Iowa in 1836, settling first at St. Francisville, Lee county. The following year, in company with John J. Fairman, John Carns and James Hall he laid out the town of Keosauqua. The place was named for the local Indian name of the Des Moines river. He attended the first land sale held at Burlington, purchasing for himself and others several thousand acres. He entered into the mercantile business in which he was very successful, owning stores at Keosauqua and several other points. His business operations, though widely extended, were very successful, and at his death his estate was estimated at \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000. For many years after he opened his store in Keosauqua merchandise was brought from Keokuk either by steamboat or by wagons over the pioneer roads. He became one of the best known citizens in southeastern Iowa. While most energetic and active in all his diversified business operations, he was throughout his long life a man of great personal popularity. It will be remembered that his portrait in oil was presented to the Historical Department of Iowa on behalf of his family, by his long-time neighbor and friend, the late Judge Geo. G. Wright.

REV. MILO N. MILES was born at Sharon, Conn., March 24, 1807; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, July 4, 1901. His early years were spent on his father's farm where he labored and attended the common schools like other New England boys of that period. After these early years he was fortunate enough to take a four years' course at Yale college, where he graduated in 1831. He also studied at the Divinity school at Princeton, New Jersey. He was licensed to preach, and throughout his long life, until worn out with age, acted as teacher, missionary and pastor, in various localities in Michigan, Nebraska and Iowa. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Major Royal Keyes, of Jamestown, New York, with whom he lived fifty-five years. Mrs. Ada North, who served ten years with great distinction as State librarian, and almost an equal period as librarian of the State University, was his daughter. His sons, Albert H., and Carroll reside in Des Moines, and Clarence in Nebraska. Mr. Miles' last sermon was preached in Iowa City on his 90th birthday. His life was long and useful, and he enjoyed the highest respect and confidence throughout a wide circle of friends and acquaintances.

MRS. MARTHA CALLANAN was born in Albany, N. Y., May 18, 1826; she died at the Callanan farm in Dallas county, Iowa, August 16, 1901. Her death resulted from injuries received from being thrown out of a carriage

at the farm a couple of weeks previous. Mrs. Callanan was one of the most widely known women in Iowa. During many years she had given almost her entire time to works of charity and reform. She edited and published *The Woman's Standard*, with which she was associated at the beginning as business manager. The foundation of this enterprise was due to her efforts and she was its mainstay from 1886 to the time of her death. She has held different offices in the local charitable organizations, seldom missing a meeting, and giving liberally of her time and money. For more than thirty years she was an active member of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, and especially active and influential in its efforts to secure favorable legislation. With her large native ability, her earnest zeal and untiring energy, and the wide and active influence given to the movement through her wealth, her loss to the equal suffragists is well nigh irreparable.

MRS. NETTIE SKIFF SANFORD-CHAPIN was born in Portage county, Ohio, March 28, 1830; she died at Marshalltown, Iowa, August 20, 1901. She came to Iowa with her father's family in 1856 and settled in Malaya township, Jasper county, where she was at once employed as a teacher in the common schools. She helped organize the first society for the purpose of sending sanitary supplies to the Union soldiers in the field. She was the first secretary of that local organization as early as the spring of 1862. She was twice married, her first husband being Daniel Sanford, her second E. N. Chapin, who was widely known as an Iowa pioneer journalist. Mrs. Chapin was also a well-known writer, her first literary venture being a history of Marshall county. She was prominent in the woman's movement for equal suffrage. She also became quite active in the work of securing the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and was for some time president of the local organization. Mrs. Chapin was an active and useful woman throughout her busy life in Iowa, becoming widely known through her ability as a writer.

MRS. MARY NEWBERRY ADAMS was born in Peru, Ind., October 17, 1837; she died at Dubuque, Iowa, August 5, 1901. She graduated from the Cleveland public school and later from the Willard Female Seminary. She was married to the late Judge Austin Adams in 1857, after which time she resided in Dubuque. Mrs. Adams was one of the prominent reformers of this State, belonging to many societies and clubs, in all of which she was an earnest, devoted worker, especially in the promotion of equal suffrage. She contributed many essays, lectures, and reviews to the publications of the associations with which she was connected, and had among her friends and correspondents some of the leading thinkers of the country. She had entertained at her home Ralph Waldo Emerson and many others of the first reformers and literary people of the times in which she lived. No woman in Iowa was more widely known and none more universally esteemed. Both Mrs. Callanan and Mrs. Adams were valued contributors to the treasures of the Historical Department of Iowa.

WM. H. CLAGETT was born at Upper Marlboro', Md., September 21, 1838, he died at Spokane, Wash., during the first week in August, 1901. He was a son of Judge Thomas Clagett of Keokuk, Iowa. Writing of himself he said that "he was early educated to a knowledge of the rod and not much else." However, he studied and practised law. He emigrated to the far west about the year 1860. In 1862, 1863 and 1865 he was a member of the legislature of Nevada. Changing his residence to Montana he became a delegate in the Forty-second congress, serving from March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1873. During his public life he was a pronounced Republican, while his father, Judge Thomas Clagett, might truthfully have been set down as a pro-slavery Democrat. The son was often mentioned in connection with the

United States senatorship from Montana. Personally, he was a quiet, modest, highly intelligent gentleman, who became very popular with the pioneers in the territories of Nevada and Montana.

HARVEY WILLIS was born in Wayne county, Ind., April 15, 1831; he died in Perry, Iowa, April 27, 1891. In 1859 he removed to Iowa, settling in Dallas county near the present site of the town of Perry, where he became a large land owner. In 1868 he laid out the town of Perry. Mr. Willis had quite an adventurous career. He went out to California in 1850, making the overland trip of over 2,000 miles. His party consisted of six others as adventurous as himself. Their means of locomotion were six yokes of oxen and two wagons. They started on their long journey just as the grass began to look green in April, going by the way of St. Joseph on the Missouri. He became a miner, but his health failed and he returned to his eastern home, where he resided until his migration to Iowa. The newspapers of his town and the correspondents of Des Moines papers spoke of him at length upon the occasion of his decease, and in terms of high compliment and appreciation.

THOMAS KIMBALL was born at East North Andover, Mass., January 20, 1846; he died at La Moille, Marshall county, Iowa, May 30, 1901. Mr. Kimball settled in La Moille in 1869, and entered into active business as a general merchant and dealer in lumber, coal and live stock. His capital at the start was only \$600, his savings at the end of five years of hard work in a Boston machine shop. His business in Marshall county became at once, and continued until his death, to be very prosperous. At the election of 1899 he was chosen to the Iowa house of representatives for the current term, and served during the session of 1900. He stood high in the confidence of the people, and it is the best evidence of this general regard to say, that he was elected without opposition. His health had been gradually declining since a severe attack of pneumonia in 1896.

EZEK VAN FOSSEN was born in Allegheny county, Pa., May 28, 1817; he died at Adel, Iowa, April 26, 1901. He studied medicine in Columbiana county, Ohio, whither his parents had removed, but finished his studies at Rush Medical college, Chicago, about the year 1850. In 1852 he removed to Adel where he settled permanently. As a pioneer physician he had visited the homes of most of the early settlers in the region of Adel, to whom he had proved a friend in many a time of trial and distress. He was a man of generous impulses and his life had been a pure and useful one. He represented Polk, Dallas and Guthrie counties in the Fifth general assembly (1854-56).

HENRY H. DAY was born in Washington, Ohio, February 8, 1824; he died in Chariton, Iowa, August 24, 1901. He removed to Lucas county, settling in Jackson township, in 1857, and for the ensuing forty-four years was identified closely with the progress of the county. In 1863 he was elected as a representative in the Tenth general assembly, where he served one term. He was also a member of the board of county supervisors with which body he served twelve years. In 1866 he was chosen chairman of the board.

JAMES D. MCKAY died at Frankville, Winneshiek county, Iowa, in April or May last, at the age of 87 years. He served as prosecuting attorney of the county or district sometime in the early fifties, and was the first Republican representative in the State legislature (1854-56) from the counties of Allamakee and Winneshiek.

Historical Department of Iowa.

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CHARLES ALDRICH, CURATOR AND SECRETARY.



Yours Very Truly
W. H. Kinsman

WILLIAM H. KINSMAN,
First lieutenant and captain of Co. B, Fourth Iowa Infantry, and lieutenant-colonel
and colonel of the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, who was killed at the
battle of Black River Bridge, Mississippi, May 17, 1863.

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COLONEL WILLIAM H. KINSMAN.

BY GENERAL GRENVILLE M. DODGE.

William H. Kinsman was born in Nova Scotia, Kings County, in the town of Cornwallis, in 1834. His father was Theodorus Kinsman, a small farmer, and his mother the daughter of an old sea captain. Young Kinsman went to sea, shipping as cabin boy at the age of 15. He remained at sea for over four years, saving his money. Soon after his return home he came to Columbia County, N. Y., where he attended an academy for two years, and then went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he engaged in writing local editorials for a newspaper, attending a law school during the time he remained in that city, in which he took a full course of lectures. In the spring of 1858 he entered the law office of Clinton & Baldwin, Council Bluffs, to complete his studies. On the motion of Judge Baldwin he was admitted to practice at the October term, 1858.

In 1859 he caught the gold fever, and took his knapsack and all the rations he could carry, and tramped from Council Bluffs to Pike's Peak, some six hundred or more miles, where he engaged in any kind of labor he could find to do. He located a placer mine, which he worked for a short time. During his tramp to and stay in Colorado, he corresponded with *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, writing very sensible, practical letters, under the *nom de plume* of "Jack Taffrail". In the winter of 1859 he returned to Council Bluffs, and taught a short term of school in that city. He then visited Washington City as the correspondent of sundry news-

papers, but remained only a few months. Returning to Council Bluffs, he formed a co-partnership with the Hon. D. C. Bloomer. In July, 1860, he commenced the practice of his profession.

I first became acquainted with Kinsman when he entered the law office of Clinton & Baldwin. I soon discovered he was a young man of energy, intelligence and great ambition, and that he took a lively part in political and all other matters that interested the city and State. I induced him to join the Council Bluffs Guards, which he entered as a private, taking a great interest in the Company. His stay with them, of course, was short, but as soon as he returned to Council Bluffs in 1860 he again joined, and, if I recollect rightly, was made second lieutenant. It was uphill work maintaining an independent military company of fifty or more members in a small town, without any aid from the State, or local encouragement whatever. The company was kept alive through patriotism and the desire of those who belonged to it to become drilled and efficient soldiers. It took a good deal of urging to get many young men to join the company, as they had to furnish their own uniforms, which many of them could not afford to do, and many of the older citizens, instead of encouraging, opposed it. It was the only company in the western part of the State. Perhaps there was one, certainly not more than two, in the eastern part of the State. The effort was looked upon as foolish, and it was difficult to raise funds necessary to maintain the company. Kinsman, in his enthusiasm, induced many to join it.

In the political campaign of 1860 Kinsman was also very active. It fell to my lot to take part in the thorough organization of the Republican side of politics on the Missouri slope. The party there was unorganized; in fact, a Republican was looked upon rather as an outlaw than a citizen, as that portion of Iowa was settled mostly from the south and by the Mormons. The Baldwins, Mr. Bloomer, Kinsman and other prominent citizens, took an active part in the cam-

paign, thus giving us a creditable standing. Kinsman was very aggressive and got into personal conflicts, saying things that brought upon him considerable criticism. He was absolutely devoted to me, and ready to do anything I asked him, no matter what the result might be, or the consequences to himself, and I therefore became very much attached to him before the war.

In 1861, as soon as it became evident that the South would secede, I called the Council Bluffs Guards together, and informed them that in case of war I proposed to take part, and that I thought it was our duty to make known our decision in the matter, also to offer our services to the Governor. Kinsman very eloquently seconded my little talk, being aggressive and determined, and absolutely demanding of every loyal person present that he take up arms for his government. When the vote was taken the entire company authorized me to offer their services to the Governor, and I think Kinsman was about the happiest man at their action that I ever met. This, I think, was the first company offered to the Governor, although it is possible that one in the eastern part of the State was offered first. The records show that the Governor declined to accept us, stating that as it was the only company in western Iowa, and located near two frontiers, Missouri on the south and the Indians on the north and west, he felt that the settlers there needed its protection. The action of the Governor induced me to offer my services personally to the United States government, being determined to enter the service. Learning this the Governor placed me on his staff, and sent me on special duty to Washington and other places. When I left the Bluffs I promised the company, especially Kinsman, that I would use all my endeavors to have it accepted as part of one of the regiments being raised in the State. As soon as I was made Colonel, and authorized to raise the 4th Iowa, I immediately notified Lieuts. Craig and Kinsman, and gave them authority to fill out the roll for Company B and recruit it to its full strength. In a

short time I heard that they had it full, and when I returned to the Bluffs the company was ready to be mustered in. Kinsman was mustered with his company (B) as second lieutenant, but soon rose to become its captain, the first lieutenant, P. A. Wheeler having been made regimental quartermaster, and Captain S. H. Craig, on account of physical disability, having been compelled to resign. Kinsman was promoted to the captaincy October 10, 1861, at Rolla, Missouri. He was a very efficient officer, very sanguine, and rather restive under strict discipline. He thought if a soldier could shoulder a musket and shoot it, that was about all that should be required of him. He had not then learned what was necessary to prepare a man for battle, and he felt that my severe drilling and disciplining of the regiment was uncalled for, as did most of the regiment; but none of the men ever protested openly. Kinsman, who probably was as near or nearer to me than any other man in the regiment, often talked to me about it, and always arrived at the conclusion that I must be right, but still he could not understand the necessity. He moved along in the campaign from Rolla to Pea Ridge, doing his full duty, and always anxious to aid me. I could call upon him for any work, whether it was that of a soldier, clerk or correspondent, and I think he watched me more carefully and took more interest in me than I did in myself. He could not well stand the slow movements of Fremont, or the great delay in obtaining the proper equipment, clothing, etc., for the regiment. He wanted to take the short road to everything, which, of course, would have been the long one. In the preliminary fights on our march south, up to the great battle of Pea Ridge, I noticed that he was very active, very anxious to get to the front, and that the sound of a cannon or a gun stirred him immediately.

During all this time he kept in correspondence with the home local paper, *The Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, giving every movement, every detail and every item that would be of interest to the people at home. He was especially sympa-

thetic over the great amount of sickness and the many deaths that occurred in the regiment at Rolla. The 4th Iowa was mostly made up of country boys, and they had almost every known disease while in camp that winter at Rolla. At one time nearly half the regiment was down.

At the battle of Pea Ridge I was instructed to make a detail of three companies to hold the extreme left of Col. Carr's division, which was the Pea Ridge mountain. This ridge divided Gen. Curtis' army, Col. Carr's division occupying ground to the east and north of the mountain and facing Gen. Price's army—Gen. Davis with his division occupying the west and south sides of the mountain, fronting Gen. Van Dorn. This mountain made a division of Van Dorn's army, and he made a fatal mistake in dividing his force and sending part under Price to attack our rear, giving us the short interior line, while his line was so long and his divisions so far apart that he could not reinforce either division of his army by details from another. They were not in close touch throughout the battle. Van Dorn's army was fully double that of Curtis, and if he had attacked with his whole force from the west, there is no doubt that we would have had a much harder struggle and probably a different result. As that detail was to be away from me, out of my reach, and it was necessary to depend upon the judgment of the officer commanding, I selected Capt. Kinsman with his own company and two companies of the 24th Missouri. Kinsman in his report says that his command was stretched out across the south end of the mountain as skirmishers, and the enemy thought they were a whole regiment, and when opposed they were opposed only by skirmishers. They held their position throughout the first day and had only one man wounded. Going over their front the next day he found eleven dead, shot with musket balls. There were some Indians with the enemy who shot arrows. Like all the rest of the officers and men of the 4th, he had no sleep for the two nights. I find in my official report the following on his action that day:

Company B, under Capt. Kinsman, with two companies of the 24th Missouri, were on the 7th ordered to the extreme left of the division, to hold our left flank and check the enemy upon the high hill—Pea Ridge. He did this very effectively that day and rendered very efficient service.

He joined the regiment again about 5 o'clock that evening and took part in the final charge that day ordered by Gen. Curtis in person. Gen. Curtis speaks of this charge as follows:

As I came up the 4th Iowa was falling back for cartridges, in line, dressing on their colors, in perfect order. Supposing with my reinforcements I could entirely regain our lost ground, I ordered the regiment to halt and face about. Col. Dodge came up, explaining the want of cartridges, and informed of my purpose, he ordered a bayonet charge, and they moved again with steady nerve to their former position, where the gallant 9th was ready to support them. These two regiments won imperishable fame.

The 4th Iowa had held its position all day, but the 2d brigade posted at Elkhorn tavern had been driven back early in the afternoon leaving my brigade unsupported on either flank, and the enemy had passed clear around me and into my rear, and I did not discover it until out of ammunition. My adjutant, Gen. James A. Williamson, in going for ammunition ran into a rebel regiment in my rear, where the 1st brigade had been posted. This, of course, forced me to withdraw my brigade and join our line in our rear, and it was while on this movement that I met Gen. Curtis, and the action described in his report took place. The regiment heard the conversation between Gen. Curtis and myself, and when I gave the order they started as one man, cheering, and regained our former position, but the enemy had retired from the field in our front.

After this battle Capt. Kinsman came to me and called my attention to the fact that the regiment next morning was intact, with not a man missing except its killed and wounded, and in a very friendly and complimentary way said that he now appreciated all the work they had had to do in the past year, and what it meant. In fact the whole 4th Iowa learned then the value of discipline and drill. They saw other regiments, when they lost their officers, melt away, but the 4th Iowa, with

not a field officer left, never had a straggler. As I left the regiment soon after the battle of Pea Ridge, I had no further personal contact with Kinsman, though he kept up an occasional correspondence with me, showing a great regard for and interest in me until his death. Soon after I left the regiment, upon my application, he was made an Assistant Adjutant General, it being my intention to place him on my staff, but he declined this, and December 1, 1862, accepted a commission as Lieut.-Colonel of the 23d Iowa Infantry. I have no personal knowledge of his services in that regiment, except as gathered from his letters. He unfortunately had a difference with his brigade commander, Gen. Davidson, when they were in Missouri. It came from his allowing his men to forage when they had been without rations for several days on the march to West Plains, Mo. In February, 1863, he was summoned before a court martial, which convened in St. Louis in March, and did not return to his regiment for duty until after it had reached Raymond on the march to Jackson. This was a great disappointment and regret, and he felt it very keenly, and it no doubt was the cause of his determination, when he rejoined the regiment, to atone for it by his daring and bravery, as shown in the battles that followed. Concerning his services with the 23d regiment, I take the liberty of quoting a letter from a chum of his before the war, who was a school teacher, correspondent and lawyer, like himself, and who was his comrade in the 23d, and whose brother was a member of Capt. Kinsman's company, B, 4th Iowa—Lieut. J. A. Straight. He writes:

On the death of Col. Wm. Dewey in December, 1862, Lieut.-Col. Kinsman was promoted to the colonelcy, and became the idol of the regiment. He never had an enemy in the organization. A most thorough disciplinarian, and a hale and hearty friend to every soldier, he, of course, was popular. He always led his boys—never followed. In a long and exceedingly hard marching campaign in Missouri, in the winter of 1862-3, owing to the distance from supplies and no forage or supplies in the sparsely settled country, the regiment was on slim rations for over two weeks, and reduced to parched corn for two or three days. Some of the Co. E boys discovered some hogs near camp and they were captured, also a very poor cow, which

went into the camp kettles. Gen. Davidson sent for Col. Kinsman and said some very wrathful things about his Iowa boys, and their jayhawking ways, which Kinsman resented with such fervor that Gen. Davidson ordered him under arrest, and on the return of the command to Arcadia, Mo., he was called before a court martial at St. Louis in March, and after a dragging trial of two weeks or longer he was restored to duty, the sentence, as I now recollect, being a reprimand by Gen. Curtis for conduct unbecoming a subordinate officer. The regiment had gone down to Vicksburg, and Col. Kinsman rejoined it while on the march from Bruinsburg, Miss., to Jackson, the first week in May, 1863, near the battlefield of Port Gibson, in which his regiment had taken a prominent part. He marched with the regiment through mud and slush to Jackson, commanded it at Champion Hill, where they captured many prisoners by a succession of charges under heavy artillery fire, and double-quickened from Champion Hill battleground to Edwards' Station, where we bivouacked the night of May 16, 1863.

That night, while the dashing rain was drenching us to the skin, and we huddled close together, we talked long after the middle of the night, and he said, "I have orders to march at daylight and attack the enemy (Johnnies) whenever and wherever we find them. I may be killed but if I live and the 23d will follow me, and I know it will, we will show the people at home (in Iowa) that it is one of the best and bravest regiments that ever left the State, and I shall wear a star. But something tells me that I shall be severely wounded, and I want you, if I should be, to see that my sword and watch and other things are sent to Mr. Bloomer, who will know what to do with them;" and while resting next morning under the river bank, to which point he had been ordered by Gen. Lawler, brigade commander, he again said to me: "I expect to be shot down right up on this bank," pointing behind him to the high bank which sheltered us, but added in a tone of voice heard for several feet around us, "but the 23d will get there just the same—don't stop for the dead and wounded; you must take those breastworks." The 23d was lying with bayonets fixed, and loaded guns, stripped to the lightest running weight, under the bank of Black River, which at that point coursed east and west. Company A was on the right wing, and had orders, at a given signal, to mount the bank without firing a gun and double-quick across an open cotton-field to a point in the breastworks about 500 yards distant, where a bayou some 20 yards wide passed through the line of rifle-pits. This subjected the regiment to a flank and enflading fire from Generals French and Bowen's Missouri divisions, which occupied the line of field works on our right flank. From the time we mounted the bank we were subjected to a murderous fire from 6,000 veteran Missouri and Arkansas troops, and the artillery fire of 12 guns in our front supported by two brigades of Tennesseans and Alabamians. The order of Col. Kinsman was by signal (removing his hat), and he was stripped of everything except his sword-belt and revolver, ready to mount the bank, which was a perpendicular rise of four to five feet, and when the order from Gen. Lawler came, without a moment's hesitation he raised his

hat and was the first man to mount the bank, the balance of his regiment following an instant later. There was no noise or confusion; every man knew what was expected of him, and not an order was issued. The regiment formed a passable line and moved off on a double-quick without firing a gun. The first volley fired from the works on our right found Col. Kinsman about 30 feet from the top of the bank. He had turned around facing the regiment as he was aligning it by motions, and urging it forward, and he was struck with a minie ball in the left side, piercing the sword-belt, near the center of the belt, and fell, turning completely around. I stopped by him a minute or less, gave him a canteen of coffee, and some cotton to staunch his wound, and left him lying in a cotton row, which was a slight protection from the bullets of the enemy, but he impatiently ordered me to leave him and go to the regiment. I overtook the regiment as it was wading across the bayou, running over ground strewn with the wounded and dead of my regiment. As we were firing our first volley into the enemy after gaining the rifle pits, Col. Kinsman came rushing by us, shouting, "Give 'em hell, boys!" waving his naked sword and looking very pale, as if he were making a death struggle with his wound. The enemy was retreating pell mell in great disorder, and the very last volley I can remember as fired by them in our direction caught our colonel once more while he was shouting on the top of the enemy's rifle pits—this time on the right side and about two inches higher than the first shot, both shots having passed through his body and out. He fell upon the enemy's breast-works, and as they had ceased firing and were surrendering to our forces all along the line, and the balance of our division were passing over the breast-works to cut off the retreat across the river, several of the slightly wounded members of the 23d gathered around him. He was tenderly borne to the shade of a tree close by until stretchers could be procured, when he was carried to the hospital tent near the railroad track in the rear of Gen. Hovey's division. He was shot the second time about 11 A. M. and it was between 12 and 1 P. M. when he was examined by the surgeons at the hospital tent or tree, and during this time he shook hands with the boys as they came to see him, asking after the wounded, and when told of Sutler John Lyon having been killed, he said, "I am so sorry; I told him not to go with the boys, but he was a brave man and would go." When the surgeons told him he had only a slim chance to live, he said, "I'll take that chance, as I don't want to leave my brave boys," and then added, "didn't they surprise the Johnny-rebs? and didn't you see them run up the cotton-batting on their bayonets?" and thus he talked at times as the pain increased. Finally, about midnight the 17th of May, he began to grow worse, and about 10 A. M. next day passed away. He asked us to bury him under the live oak tree, where he was lying on a cot under a tent-fly, and on the evening of the 18th of May, 1863, about sundown, with a few of his nearest friends present, he was laid away to his final rest, within about 100 feet of the railroad track.

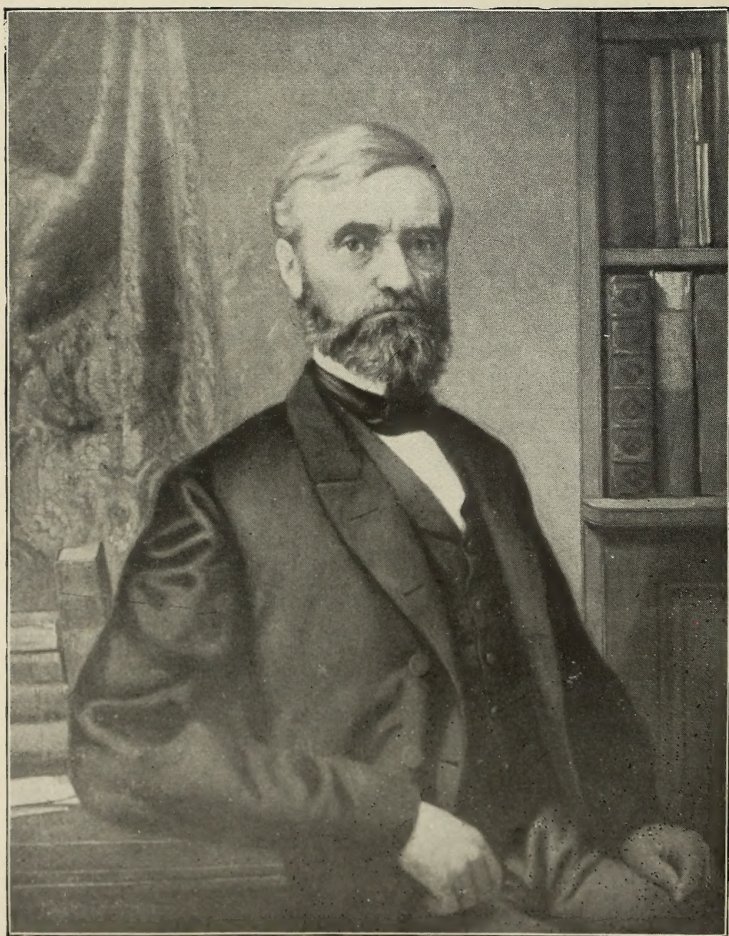
Gen. McClernand, commander of the 13th Army Corps, said in his re-

port of the battle: "Among the killed is Col. Kinsman, 23d Iowa, who fell mortally wounded while leading his regiment upon the enemy's works." Gen. Carr, commanding the 4th division of the corps, and an eye-witness, said: "A murderous cross-fire was opened on our men as they moved forward on the run. It was here that the gallant Kinsman of the 23d Iowa lost his life. He received a fatal wound in the abdomen, but still kept on until another through his chest brought him to the ground."

His last words, as I now remember them, were: "Tell the boys I died happy. I fell at the head of my regiment, doing my duty. Bury me here on the field of my last battle."

Kinsman's comrades of the 4th and 23d Iowa, and his friends in Council Bluffs, were very desirous that his remains should be brought back to his home in Iowa, and considerable correspondence occurred. The difficulty seemed to be to find some one who knew and could designate the spot where he was buried. Finally, in the spring of 1884, Lt. N. E. Ride-nour, of the 23d, editor of *The Page County Democrat*, who had taken great personal interest in the matter, and who had appealed to the State legislature in that behalf, but they not acting, he, together with the Rev. A. G. Barton, went to the Black River Bayou battle-ground, east of Vicksburg, with the view of bringing back to Iowa Col. Kinsman's remains; but the changes in the country since the war made it impossible to locate it. They returned greatly disappointed, and their disappointment was shared by all of Kinsman's friends who had looked forward confidently to their bringing his remains with them. Lieut. Straight in his letter to me says he thinks he can find the grave, and during the coming autumn I shall try to have one more effort made to bring his remains to Iowa to be buried at his home with his comrades, where he can be properly honored, and the memory of his deeds perpetuated.

NOTE.—We copy Gen. Dodge's statement of the finding of Col. Kinsman's remains, with his announcement of the reburial, to take place May 17, 1902, and his appeal to old comrades-in-arms for funds with which to erect a monument, on a subsequent page.—EDITOR OF THE ANNALS.



CHARLES MASON, CHIEF JUSTICE OF IOWA (TERRITORY AND STATE), 1838-47.
This portrait with the facsimile of Judge Mason's oath of office were published
in Vol. 11, 3d series of THE ANNALS. They are reprinted here as
illustrations to Mr. Yewell's article, by request of
the friends of Judge Mason.

REMINISCENCES OF CHARLES MASON.

BY GEORGE H. YEWELL, N. A.

PART II.

During the four years that passed between the last letter and the following, my home, with the exception of a short visit to the United States in the winter of 1871-2, had been in Italy. The summer and autumn months had been passed, part of the time in Perugia and part in Venice, in the making of studies in color of architectural interiors, and sketches of the picturesque material abounding everywhere in that magical country, to be made into pictures in my Roman studio during the remaining portions of the year. I had looked forward to a day when I might have the pleasure of welcoming Judge Mason and his family to Rome, knowing well with what interest he would view its surrounding landscape and the ruins of its mighty temples and palaces.

In the last sentence of the following letter there is an indication of a possible passing away of the "gloomy apprehensions" regarding the future of his country. A faint gleam of hope seems to have arisen in his mind that the future might have better things in store than had been discerned through his fears.

BURLINGTON, NOV. 26, '72.

My Dear Sir: I have allowed your esteemed favor of April 14th to remain long unanswered; at first because I was under a mistaken impression that I had replied to it, and afterwards when satisfied that this was an error, and I commenced a letter to you some weeks ago, I was prevented from completing it by having mislaid your address. Dr. Ransom told me he thought he could furnish it to me, and finally yesterday he did so.

We are all at home and very well. We remained in Burlington through the summer except that I had to make two journeys east and shall probably have to make a third one in a very few weeks. We found our house so airy and comfortable that we did not feel disposed to leave it to go pleasure-seeking elsewhere. We all have a desire to travel—though my wife's

NOTE.—Through inadvertence the name of Stephen Whicher was given in the first article as one of the commissioners to revise and codify the laws of Iowa. It should have been Stephen Hempstead, of Dubuque County.

ambition in that respect is very limited. But the inconveniences and obstacles to be overcome in leaving our house have thus far proved insurmountable. I do not know that I shall ever attempt to cross the ocean but hope at least to cross the continent at no distant day, which will be a much less arduous undertaking. In fact, if it was more difficult of accomplishment than it is, I should perhaps be more likely to attempt it, for those undertakings which require comparatively little effort are often longer postponed than those which call forth more planning and greater energy.

I suppose you are back again in Rome for the winter. I should like for one season to breathe the same balmy air as that inhaled by the stalwart old republicans and patriots who have long been the theme of my admiration. Our winters are too severe, but then they are our own. A few days ago our thermometer indicated three degrees, and a year previous at about the same date it was three or four degrees below zero. It is now pleasant and mild again, but I rather dread the severe cold that I know is in store for us before many weeks.

I was in Iowa City for a few days in June in attendance upon a convention of the Episcopal Church and passed my time very agreeably. It is becoming a delightful city with many pleasant people, and they seemed very desirous to make our stay agreeable. I met with several of your acquaintances who spoke kindly of you and your good wife. Mrs. Morrison, whom I think you knew, is now on a visit to her friends in Burlington.

Our city is feeling its importance and is beginning to take on airs. We are having a large opera house to be completed in the spring. The walls, are now nearly completed. We expect to enjoy the luxury of water works and horse railways in the streets within a year, and it will I hope at no distant day become somewhat of an attractive place, especially for those who have long regarded it as their home.

The result of our election disappointed me very considerably. At least I had hopes of a very different result six months ago. But as the decisive day drew near I saw the indications of a new defeat so unmistakably that I was gradually prepared for the result which I have some faint hope will not prove as fatal to the cause of true republican liberty as I have anticipated in case a military executive was again placed over us. It seems to me that our civil war is to be followed with the same fruits as those of Rome. When a republican people lay aside the weapons of intellect for those of force, power usurps the realm of reason, and imperialism in some of its forms predominates to the overturning of all the safeguards that serve as barriers against oppression. I look upon the future of the republic with gloomy apprehensions, but still I shall be glad to find myself mistaken.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

Truly Yours,

CHAS. MASON.

A great and ever-abiding sorrow came into the life of Judge Mason when, as far back as 1853, or it may have been

a little earlier, two young daughters died within a short time of each other, of diphtheria, if I remember rightly. I shall never forget the expression upon his face when he told me of his loss, during a visit to New York shortly afterward. He was a very tender-hearted man, and his affections strong and lasting. The second great sorrow came late in March, 1873, with the death of his wife. When that occurred he seemed almost to have reached the limit of his interest in worldly things. He lived only for his remaining daughter, Mary, whose devotion to him was untiring. In the following July she was married to Captain George C. Remey, now Rear Admiral Remey, of the United States Navy.

GENEVA, Switzerland, September 15th, '73.

My Dear Sir: You will probably be surprised to receive a letter from me dated at this place, and to be told that we expect to be in Rome toward the end of next month, when I suppose we may safely visit that city. We left home the 17th of July, landed at Queenstown, passed through Ireland, Scotland and England, crossed over to Belgium, visited Amsterdam and other places in Holland, passed up the Rhine through Cologne, Mayence and Strasburg, and then on by way of Basle to this place. We have just returned from an excursion to Chamouni and the glaciers, coming back by Montigny and around by the lake.

Perhaps you have not yet heard of the changes which have taken place in our family within the last six months, one of which you doubtless expected. Mrs. Mason died the last of March, and Mollie was married a few days before we left on our journey. She and her husband are with me. It is only on her account that I am in Europe. For myself I would have much preferred remaining at home. But she had been for a long time calculating on this journey on the occasion of her marriage, and when her mother was dead, she determined not to go at all unless I would accompany her, and rather than disappoint her, I concluded to go.

Our journey has been as pleasant as we had any reason to expect. I lost my appetite for two days in crossing the Atlantic, but on the whole we had a very favorable time. Since landing in Ireland it has rained almost every day till we started on our excursion to Chamouni. But it has so happened that the weather has been comparatively pleasant and the rains, if any, very light when we were most needing pleasant weather, with but one or two exceptions.

On our trip to Chamouni the weather was as fine as we could have desired it, and the atmosphere perfectly clear until yesterday, after we had started in the cars for this place.

We shall remain here today and leave tomorrow for other towns and places in Switzerland and Germany, expecting to reach Vienna about the

last of the month or early in October. From thence we shall probably visit the towns in northern Italy, and gradually wend our way towards Rome, which we shall not expect to reach before the 20th of October.

Should you receive this before the end of September, please write me at Vienna, giving information and suggestions as to our best course in reaching Rome. Please direct to me to the care of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, Vienna, where I shall obtain my letters.

My daughter unites with me in love to you all. Her husband sends his regards.

Yours Truly,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAS. MASON.

The foregoing letter reached me at the picturesque old city of Perugia, where many of our Italian summers were spent. I wrote to Vienna and invited them to visit us at Perugia on their way to Rome, which they did. The re-union was pleasant, and there was much in the beautiful Umbrian mountain country surrounding us, and in the old Etruscan city itself, to interest Judge Mason and draw him out, for a time, from the cloud of sadness that enveloped him. Their stay was short, but we saw more of them later at Rome. Here he found abundant material to occupy his time and attention. Judge Mason had always seemed to me like a noble Roman born into the nineteenth century, and his presence in Rome was as that of one come to see the ruins of the home of his ancestors.

His active mind became at once interested in many things that concerned the welfare or hindered the progress of the growth of the modern city. The condition of the Roman Campagna and its malarious atmosphere at once claimed his attention, and his mind was busily occupied with searching for the underlying causes of its poisonous exhalations and the means to be employed in destroying the fever-breeding miasma that covered, like a funeral pall, a most interesting and beautiful stretch of country.

In my early days in Rome I kept a journal until, like all journal-keeping, it became a burden. I wish now that some record had been made of what happened during the visit there of Judge Mason and the Remeys, as the greater part has faded from my memory. There is one incident, however,

that I shall never forget, in connection with a visit made one afternoon by the Judge, Captain Remey his son-in-law, and myself, to St. Peter's church.

In the many galleries of pictures by celebrated old masters in the cities he had visited, Judge Mason's attention had been directed, in the paintings of religious subjects, to the representations of the face and figure of God the Father. He had criticised unfavorably the general tendency to represent the Almighty as a very old man in the decline of life. In examining the mosaics in St. Peters, he had discovered, away up in the top of the lantern of the great dome, a mosaic representation of the Father, which he was examining intently by means of a large opera glass. As he was obliged to stand immediately under the lantern, it was neck-breaking work. Some minutes later I found him lying at full length upon the marble floor, near the high altar, viewing the mosaic more comfortably. As the church was nearly deserted, it was some little time before one of the guardians saw him, and smilingly tapped him upon the shoulder. The Judge arose and apologized, only then realizing for the first time into what a droll position his pursuit of knowledge under difficulties had led him.

My American friends in Rome were interested in him and did many things to make his visit pleasant, which he remembered afterwards with gratitude. He was an example of a noble type of American republicanism, which was of interest when seen with such different surroundings.

Early in December we bade them farewell with regret. The following extracts from a letter by Mrs. Remey, dated Paris, Dec. 14, 1873, will give some account of their movements up to the time of their sailing for home:

Our first day's ride was delightful; we enjoyed the sandwiches, and found a good hotel in Pisa. The following morning was very crisp, and the ride to the Duomo anything but comfortable. We enjoyed the group of beautiful buildings very much, and especially the echo in the Baptistry. We went on to La Spezia that day, and the next morning started in a carriage for Sestri. The first part of the day was enjoyable, but later we became very much chilled, and by the time we reached Genoa, were thoroughly

tired. I had hoped to travel several days in a carriage over at least a part of the route from Genoa to Nice, but we concluded the season was too far advanced. We found Nice very pleasant and mild; in the afternoon of the day we spent there we went to Monaco, and were interested in the novelty and brilliancy of the surroundings. If one could forget the object for which the display is made it would be a most charming spot. We spent nights at Marseilles and Lyons, but as we arrived at both places after dark, and left before sunrise, there was not much rest. The last day was very wintry; the carriage windows were so covered with ice we could not see through them, and there was every indication of snow. The sun has not shone since we have been here (Paris), and the air is so raw and chilly there is little temptation to go outside the hotel. Even under these circumstances we can realize the superiority of this beautiful city. * * * We think now of applying for passage in the *Russia*, which sails on the 3d of January. This will give us only two weeks more in Paris, but by an industrious application of time, I think we can get ready. Father is getting anxious to be at home, and if the weather continues as at present, we shall all be willing to start.

PARIS, December 14, '73.

My Dear Sir: As Mollie was writing I concluded to give you some of the results of my observations relative to the malaria that afflicts the Campagna as well as the city of Rome, leaving it to her to post you in relation to all matters of news.

I have no doubt as to the true cause of this unhealthfulness during the hot season. It does not arise from the dry uplands, but wholly from the marshes which are spread to so great an extent over the river bottoms and the alluvial soil along the Mediterranean. These marshes were frequent and often very extensive. I saw hundreds of acres in a body, which were covered with stagnant water, and numberless patches of smaller dimensions scattered in all directions. These, putrifying in the broiling summer Italian sun, suffice to account for all the sickness which renders the Campagna so nearly useless.

But it is said very truly that in former times the Campagna was healthy and that the effects of malaria were only felt when the country ceased to be cultivated. I reply that when the uplands became neglected the same was true of the bottom lands. They ceased to be drained and were converted into marshy grounds as we see them now. The mischief all comes from that source. There is no more reason why the neglect of the dry uplands should produce disease than that the natural prairies which had lain uncultivated for thousands of years should have been unhealthy. Our own observation proves that our prairies were just as healthy before the plow had disturbed them as they ever have been since. In fact, it is generally supposed that the breaking up of the soil was at first a cause of unhealthfulness, but this at most was only temporary. In like manner the breaking up of large portions of the Campagna might for a year or two cause some sickness to those who were exposed to its effects, but that would be the only evil that need be apprehended.

It is a well settled fact that the malaria that results from stagnant water is often more fatal in its effects to persons inhabiting the higher ground in the neighborhood than to those on a more immediate level. The malaria arises to a certain height which can only be ascertained by observation. If the Campagna is found unhealthy in any particular portion, it shows that the malaria from the marshes rose to that height. Where there is an abundant and well known cause for such an effect, I do not think it philosophical to be casting about for others that are unnecessary and improbable.

The manifest remedy for this evil is a removal of its cause. I do not think it at all necessary that this should all be done at once. There are several months in every year when men can with safety work on any portion of those marshy grounds. If all cannot be reclaimed in one year, let as much be done as practicable. What is thus effected one year may be so protected as to suffer no injury till all is done.

If the low grounds are sufficiently above the Tiber or the sea, nothing but drains will be needed to effect the desired result. But where this is not the case, something farther will be necessary. Dikes should be thrown up along the sea or the rivers with ditches on the inner sides and the water from within could be pumped over these dikes, as is done so extensively in Holland where the difficulties are greater and the motive far less than is the case with Italy. The salt lakes thus drained to a great depth in Holland would not have caused pestilence. The great purpose was to obtain land for cultivation. The latter result is but a subordinate inducement in your case. I have no doubt that it would be entirely practicable to drain all the Pontine marshes in this manner, and that the soil thus reclaimed would be vastly more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of the work. There were several places passed by us as we traveled along the coast where a like course might be advantageously pursued, thus not only reclaiming a large amount of most fertile and valuable soil, but also rendering the surrounding country salubrious and vastly more valuable and pleasant.

Such a work must necessarily be done by the public authorities. If the lands thus improved are private property, local taxation would furnish the means of meeting the expenses necessary. Such a course would be permissible even in a popular government, much more under a monarchy. But I will not enlarge on this subject further at present.

I always feel an inclination to give a practical application to any information I acquire, and this prompts me to write as I have now done. It may come in your way to communicate these suggestions to some one who will follow them up to a useful result. At all events I have endeavored to show my good will to a portion of the human family among whom I have spent a few weeks very pleasantly, though I never expect to see them or their country again.

We shall probably take passage home in the *Russia*, which sails from Liverpool on the 3rd of January. Should this be the case, we shall hope to see our own shores by the middle of that month.

Yours Truly,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAS. MASON.

The next is a most precious letter, revealing at the close, a part of his inmost soul. In giving his words to the public, especially of Iowa, I feel that I am not overstepping the bounds of a trusted friendship, but revealing a priceless heritage of character, of which every citizen of his beloved state will be glad to become possessed.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7, '74.

My Dear Sir: We left Paris on the 26th of December and London on the 1st day of January, Liverpool on the 3rd and reached New York on the evening of the 14th, came to Washington on the 16th and shall probably remain here for several weeks to come. It was the intention of the Captain and Mollie to remain in Washington only a few days, and then to return to Iowa, to remain till the last of March, as his leave of absence expires the first of April. The next day after our arrival here, however, the officer at the head of one of the bureaus in the Navy Department proposed a situation to the Captain which he would be very glad to accept, but in order to do so it would be necessary to enter upon duty by the middle of this month. He had resolved to waive the remainder of his leave of absence rather than fail to secure the situation here, and inasmuch as the journey to Iowa and back would hardly be compensated by the brief period that they would be permitted to remain at home, it was concluded not to go to Iowa at present, but to enter at once upon duty here, which was done accordingly. We are all comfortably situated at a private boarding house where we expect to remain till spring, when Mollie will probably accompany me to Iowa, though that is not settled yet.

In the meantime I am kept busy with various matters, chief among which is my plan for the resumption of specie payments in such a way as to create no disturbance in the relations of money and property, and to secure all the most essential advantages of a convertible currency from the date of the passage of the law on that subject. This seems to be promising too much, but not more than can be accomplished, as I can demonstrate to any man of sense whose mind is not preoccupied with some antagonist's hobby. You expressed a wish to see a pamphlet I had prepared on this subject in 1872. I have sent home for a number of copies I still have there and expect them now daily. I will send you one if they arrive as expected, from which you will see the general plan by which I expect to attain my object. I know I understand this matter better than any man in Congress. It has been a study with me for many years, and I have made many improvements in the manner of elucidating it since the pamphlet was printed.

This matter was a chief reason for my coming home earlier than I should otherwise have done. I do not know that any ground has been lost by my absence. Plans for resumption are as plenty as blackberries, but they generally suit only their respective projectors. I have, I think, suc-

ceeded in placing mine in a condition in which it will be considered and I hope fairly weighed. If I shall succeed in successfully solving the most important problem of the day, I shall be tolerably well satisfied with myself. And if I can follow this up by other measures equally important which I have long had in view, and which will flow naturally from this, I shall feel that I have made a reasonably good use of the talent that was committed to me by the Great Father, and shall be willing, as far as this matter is concerned, to render my final account. I have long been conscious of possessing powers that have never been exercised, and I feared opportunity for such exercise would ultimately fail me; but if I can secure to my country the objects I have in view I shall envy no man the laurels gathered by the bloody hand of war.

We had a somewhat boisterous passage home, but not more so than was to have been expected at that season of the year. A gale was just dying away as we sailed, leaving the ocean writhing and tossing like a thing of life. Before this uneasiness was at an end another gale sprung up which continued till we were half way across. Mollie and I were so sick that though our state rooms were not forty feet apart we did not see each other for nearly three days at one time. Oh, the horror of those long, dismal nights! The lights were extinguished at midnight. Having to keep my berth most of the time, I slept much by daylight and therefore was always wakeful at night, especially during the latter portion of it. And then to be hour after hour wishing for the time to arrive when the blessed light of day should again make its appearance, and often fancying I saw indications of its approach, but only to be disappointed—was perfectly dreadful. What would induce me ever again to cross the Atlantic—especially in the winter? I do not regret having gone to Europe, but am very glad the journey is finished and that I am safely again on shore in my own country.

When the spring opens I shall return home, but how long I shall remain there is uncertain. Our street railway is in operation one mile, and another mile, extending some 850 feet along the east line of our farm is to be finished by the first of June. I shall remain till that time, probably. I believe that I once told you that I was having our family burial vault improved and completed. It stands some three hundred yards from our country home, on the opposite side of a valley through which flows a stream of water, and on a declivity which looks directly over the grounds where we were all once so happy that, whenever I think of Heaven as a material habitation, I connect it with a vision of that home, with my children all around me. I am having that vault finished in such a way that I hope it will not be looked upon as a gloomy habitation. My own place is there prepared by the side of my wife, in the middle, with one of our blessed children on the left of her mother and the other upon my right. And I think with equanimity upon the time when we shall all be sleeping together there. And when, at no very distant day, you shall learn that the dreaded passage which interposes between you and the unseen world has been accomplished by me, let no dismal thoughts take possession of your

mind, but waft me your kind congratulations that apprehension and agony have been exchanged for that rest and happiness which faith teaches us have been prepared for us on the shores of a happy hereafter. My thoughts are often with my wife and children. I wonder how they communicate with each other without the use of the material organs of speech and hearing. Perhaps they have to go through an infancy and learn a new mode of exchanging ideas; and who can tell but that those little children who were taught the language of this world by their mother, have since been repaying their obligations, in this respect, by giving her the benefit of their education during the more than twenty years that they preceded her in the other.

Did you ever see the pretty lines of Mrs. Barbauld, which are often present to my mind?

"Life! we've been long together,
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
Then steal away, give little warning:
Choose thine own time.
Say not Good-night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good-morning."

But I shall make you sad with my reflections, and will draw to a close. We are all in very good health and spirits. If it were not for our new house in Burlington, we should all remain here for some years to come. As it is, the future in this respect is somewhat uncertain.

All join in sending love to you all. Remember us to the friends with whom we became acquainted in Rome. Yours Truly,

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

CHAS. MASON.

There is less of sadness in the next letter. A new interest in life had been awakened by the birth of a grandchild, and the weight of loneliness was being, in a measure, lifted from his heart.

I had shown a former letter, in which he gave his opinion concerning the cause and the removal of the malarious condition in the Campagna of Rome, to some Roman friends interested in the same subject, and had subsequently written to him regarding criticisms made by them, backed up by certain facts which seemed to work against his theories.

WASHINGTON, June 2, 1874.

My Dear Friend: Your very welcome letter of March 20 was duly received, and all the kind feelings and sympathies therein expressed were fully appreciated. I now sit down to give you some leaves of our own history since my last letter.

And first let me tell you that we have a fine healthy boy baby at our house in Iowa. It was born May 15th, weighed at first but six pounds but is as lively as a cricket, and makes the house ring occasionally with its voice. How pleasant seems the sound of a child's voice in our house, if it is a crying one. It has long been unheard there, and is something for which my heart has been pining.

We remained in Washington till the 15th of April, when I started for Iowa with Mollie, and reached home on the 17th, at about the same hour that we had left Burlington on the 17th of July on our way to Europe. I remained at home till Monday, the 25th, when I thought it necessary to come back to complete some unfinished business here. I shall probably not remain more than about a week longer when I shall again start for home by way of New York, stopping for a week at my old home, which I have not seen since July, 1872, but which I generally visit every year. I hope to reach home about the 20th instant.

The Captain is quite well, and is looking anxiously forward to an expected leave of absence for a month or more, when he will visit us in Iowa, which will probably be in July next.

Thus we see that in the shifting scenes in the panorama of life, our successors are entering at the one side, while we are advancing in midway, or going out at the other. How brief seems the space that separates the two extremes! But I somewhat doubt whether that space would not appear equally brief were it really ten times as great. The proportion would only be increased, but the general effect about the same.

I am afraid you have undertaken too great a task in endeavoring to master the subject of the pamphlet I sent you. It seems like setting myself to study and fully appreciate the merits of one of your own productions. I sent you the pamphlet not intending to impose a task, but that you might obtain a general idea of the views I have entertained on this subject, which at the present time is of transcendent importance to our country. I have the most entire confidence in the correctness of my own conclusions, and all I see and hear on the subject confirms me in my opinions. The world is slow in receiving new ideas. Hume tells us that when Harvey promulgated his theory of the circulation of the blood, there was hardly a physician of forty years of age that ever believed it. There are many converts to my ideas, and I am not without hope of final success in inducing their adoption; but it will hardly be done this session. I do not think, however, that any other plan can be adopted that will prove satisfactory or that will work so successfully as to be continued in operation till we reach the solid ground of specie resumption. One of the members of the cabinet is fully convinced of the correctness of my views on this subject, and proposes that I have a conversation with the President in relation thereto, which I shall probably do before I leave Washington. I have a very carefully prepared article on the subject which I hope to have published in one of the leading reviews, and shall visit New York partly with that intent.

I am not yet convinced of the error of my notions in relation to the

cause of malaria in the Roman Campagna. When I see one sufficient cause for any effect, I do not think it philosophical to seek after those which are extraordinary and unnatural. Were I told of the exact condition of the river bottoms and marshes along the coast, I should have come at once to the conclusion that in such a climate virulent diseases might be expected to prevail, not only in the immediate neighborhood of these breeding places of malaria, but also along the higher grounds in places that could only be fixed by experiment. That the Borghese Villa is more unwholesome than the region around the railroad station of about the same elevation does not prove the incorrectness of my opinions. In Burlington within 500 yards of my house and at substantially the same elevation, malarial diseases are believed to exist which do not visit our immediate neighborhood, but this circumstance never caused me to doubt that the cause of these diseases proceeded from the stagnant water along the river bottoms. A skirt of trees intervening between the source of malaria and any given locality, is believed to intercept that malaria, but on the other hand the overshadowing of grounds or residences renders the places thus overshadowed unhealthy. The Borghese Villa, if I remember rightly, is all surrounded by shade while the vicinity of the railroad station is comparatively free from such shade. May not this account for the difference in healthfulness in the two localities? I will not attempt to account for the unhealthfulness that prevails all the year except a few weeks in the spring. Is there no mistake in this respect? Does malaria manifest its presence there in winter? The causes which produce these effects are often inscrutable. You have seen fogs or smoke assuming the forms of horizontal strata at different elevations. May not malaria assume like positions—sometimes higher, and then again lower, so that at one elevation diseases may manifest themselves while above or below there may be entire healthfulness?

Whether malaria consists of a microscopic fungus which floats in the air or rises from the earth, I know not, but I have a strong belief that whatever the cause of the diseases they produce they spring mostly, if not entirely, from putrefaction and generally from stagnant water. I doubt whether a well drained country is ever unhealthy.

I suppose you will think that I ought to fix myself down in my comfortable home and leave the world to take care of itself, but I cannot endure inaction. An overpowering feeling of loneliness renders it necessary that I should not be idle for an hour. Our street railway is in operation in the direction of our farm and will probably be completed about 40 rods along its east line by the time I return home. When that is done, we shall perhaps attempt the construction of water works in our city. On some accounts I should prefer residing in Washington but Mollie is unwilling to dispose of our home in Burlington. It seems a pity that so much property should remain so nearly useless to us. Many years ago, when Mollie was a little girl, her mother used to tell her that she would not probably live to see her grow up to womanhood and she then enjoined upon her that she must never leave me, which she promised. This promise she is now per-

I, Charles Mason, do solemnly
swear that I will support the Con=
stitution of the United States, and well
and faithfully execute the trust com=
mitted to me, as Chief Justice of
the Supreme Court of the Territory
of Iowa.

Charles Mason

Suom & Subscribed
before me this 23^d
of July A.D. 1838,
Wm Bleonway
Sec of the Territory
of Iowa.

Facsimile of Judge Charles Mason's oath of office. The original is in the possession
of the Historical Department of Iowa.

forming. She expects to remain in Burlington till fall, and then that I should accompany her back to Washington for the winter. This almost deprives us both of any permanent home, but she has no idea of any different arrangement while her husband is stationed here.

By the special request of the ladies of our parish I delivered a lecture for the benefit of our church, shortly before I left home, on the subject of our European tour. I took my hearers across the ocean and through Ireland. I may be induced to continue my journey at some future time. I kept a pretty full journal and by preparing a course of lectures I shall be reviewing my journey and impressing many of its incidents more lastingly upon my recollection.

Remember me kindly to Oscar and any of our other friends who added so much to the pleasantness of our stay in Europe.

Yours truly,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

At Rome, Judge Mason saw in the studio of the American sculptor, William H. Rinehart, a beautiful group in marble of two sleeping infants, which he greatly admired. It was a subject that would naturally appeal to him, owing to the loss of his two young children. I had written to him of the death of the sculptor, and in a Washington letter of December 23, 1874, he wrote: "I was sorry to hear of the death of poor Rinehart. What has become of his sleeping infants? I should like to own them if I could afford it. About what would they cost delivered in New York? I have no intention of purchasing them unless some enterprises in which I still venture to engage to keep up an interest in the affairs of this world should prove more beneficial than they probably will."

In the same letter Mrs. Remey says of the little boy: "He is a merry little fellow, and is on the best of terms with his grandfather. It would please you to see them together. Father says he has made him feel young." She adds: "We recall our European trip with great pleasure; one of our evening occupations is to listen to extracts from father's journal."

In December, 1875, I wrote to Judge Mason a few days after reaching Cairo, in Egypt, whither I had gone to spend the winter in making studies for pictures. His reply from

Washington in the following April reached me in Rome.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1876.

My Dear Friend: Your welcome letter of December 19th was duly received. I certainly was taken by surprise to learn that you were sojourning in the land of the Pharaohs. I very much hope that you may derive all the benefit therefrom that you have desired.

We came to Washington the 20th of last November, and shall probably remain here until near the end of the present month—perhaps longer. We intend then to return home for the summer. We were so comfortable there last year that we make no calculations about going to any cooler place this year. I have for a long time intended to make a journey to California, and may gratify my wish in that respect the present year, but this is still uncertain.

Our little boy is doing nicely. He looks delicate, but is healthy and exceedingly active and mischievous. I indulge him more than I ought, and am trying to correct myself in that respect, but it is so difficult to refuse him any gratification that is not detrimental to his health, and I humor him more than I should.

We have as yet received no intelligence of the arrival of Mrs. Mason's portrait, but I trust no mischief has befallen it. I shall endeavor to institute some inquiries in regard to it when I get home.

You ask about the prospects of resumption. They are very slender. Nothing will probably be done that will be of any avail. A year ago last January a bill was passed, declaring that full resumption should take place January 1, 1879, but without taking the intermediate steps necessary to bring that event about. It has only wrought evil thus far, and will do nothing else hereafter. The premium on gold is to-day higher than when that bill passed. It has been so on the average during all the intermediate time. I tell them I will consent to be burnt at the stake on the first of January, 1879, if by that time resumption can be effected in any way without producing the most dreadful financial troubles. Many of the best minds in Washington believe in my doctrine. The President himself is one of these, and also several members of Congress.

But the great mass of that body is composed of two classes. A vast number of them have hobbies of their own on this subject, and nearly all the remainder feel incapable or unwilling to grapple with a new idea. Their thoughts on the subject run in the old changeless channel. Besides—as is very natural—no one likes to adopt and urge onwards the ideas of another person, and this has, I believe, been the chief cause of the slow progress my ideas have been making.

But I am not discouraged. With the implicit confidence that I have struck upon the true philosophy of this subject I shall not abandon the effort while there is a possibility of success. I believe I am right in my notions and that they would bring about the results sought, with as much confidence as I subscribe to the Copernican doctrine of the universe, or the Newtonian theory of universal gravitation.

You ask if I have published anything further on the subject. I forget whether the pamphlet I sent you was that of 1872 or that of 1874. I think it was the former and will send you a copy of the latter of which quite a number remain on hand. It was an effort to condense into more limited space, but I had to omit many of the details of the predecessor. I have recently written a much more condensed presentation of the subject, with some modifications to meet new objections. Nearly two weeks since, I placed it in the hands of the correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, under a promise that it would soon appear in that journal. It has not yet made its appearance. I will send you a copy of that when it is obtained.

We were much in hopes of seeing you both this coming season and felt a great disappointment in hearing that such would not be the case. We expect to visit the [Centennial] Exposition at some time during the season, and may possibly remain here till the opening, a month hence. Or Mollie may remain while I go home and afterwards return for that purpose. She is, however, so firmly resolved not to be separated from me that it is doubtful whether she will consent to the arrangement.

I wish I could have visited Egypt while I was in the east. It must have been a feast for one of your intellectual tastes and appetites.

You must have been greatly astonished and mortified at the developments that have been taking place here within the past few months. I have long been as fully confident of the existence of such frauds and speculations as I now am, but they seem to present a different appearance when laid open to the light of day. The developments are not ended yet, and no one can yet predict exactly when they will terminate or who will be implicated.

Remember us kindly to our artist friends we met when American friends had such a peculiar value. Tell Mr. and Mrs. Vedder how sincerely I can sympathize with them in their great loss. It is now the twenty-fourth year since our two little girls were snatched from us by the same merciless destroyer, but the anguish of that occasion lives fresh in my memory still, and will do so till I go to join them beyond the dark valley.

I hope the Egyptian climate has restored Mrs. Y. to that health so indispensable to the full enjoyment of life. Give her our warmest regards. Remember us also to our friend Oscar. I hope to hear from you as soon as you find it convenient to write.

Yours very truly,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq.

P. S. Mollie returns her sincerest thanks for the portrait you have sent. She and her husband unite in warmest regards to you among the others.

A letter from Burlington, February 10, 1877, gave me an account of a very severe and dangerous illness that kept him in bed for twenty-five days and nearly terminated his life.

He never entirely recovered from its effects. In the same letter he writes: "I have another little grandson who will be four months old on the 19th of this month. He is a fine little fellow and is named George for his father. He is much more quiet than his elder brother and will have blue eyes." Of this child he became exceedingly fond, and his early death was another heavy blow that came near severing the few remaining ties that bound him to this life. He further writes of national matters: "You have doubtless watched with some interest the stirring events connected with our presidential election. At one time I felt appalled at the threatening prospect presented. But the danger is now past. Whoever is elected president under the compromise arrangement will be peacefully inaugurated. I have no doubt in the world that Tilden was justly elected, and I still believe he will be our president. But I would much prefer the inauguration of Gov. Hayes, to a disputed succession which might result in violence."

After a residence in Rome of eleven years, I returned, in 1878, and settled permanently in my native land, which had grown dearer to me during the long absence. The next of Judge Mason's letters that I have preserved is a sad but interesting one:

BURLINGTON, December 26, 1880.

My Dear Friend: We are all in the deepest affliction. Our little Georgie died of croup a week ago last evening after an illness of less than three days. Wednesday, the 15th, he was full of life, and health, and joy. Before bed-time he showed symptoms of croup, and the remedies which we always keep on hand were promptly administered. The doctor was called on Thursday but he was not relieved. Saturday morning I telegraphed his father, though we had by no means lost hope. He died a little after 7 p. m. His father started Saturday afternoon, missed the connection at Chicago and did not reach home till Tuesday morning. . . . We are overwhelmed with sorrow. For four years and two months he had been a sunbeam in our household. I can hardly reconcile myself to his loss. On some accounts this is the severest affliction I have ever suffered. To be busy, and to take exercise freely, have always been the remedies to which I have resorted in times of bereavement, and in which I have found relief. The state of my health has been such that I have been in a great degree de-

prived of these remedies. Still, I submit without repining to this terrible chastisement. Mollie has quite as much fortitude as I can pretend to exert.

We concluded to spend the present winter here. My health hardly improves much. I made a short trip to Colorado and New Mexico last October,—encountered a railroad accident which, though it did me no material injury, produced a pretty severe shock and caused me to return home much sooner than I intended. Capt. Remy accompanied me, and we then intended to return with him to spend the winter in Washington, which purpose was afterwards changed. . . . We hope to hear from you soon. Let us know of your intentions and prospects.

Yours very sorrowfully,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 51 West 10th St., New York.

WASHINGTON, January 21, 1881.

My Dear Friend: You will probably be surprised at reading the date of this letter. As the time approached for Capt. Remy to leave us (his leave of absence expired last Monday) the idea was suggested that we should all accompany him with the intention of remaining here until about the middle of April. The suggestion found a ready response as well on my part as on that of my daughter,—we both believing that a change of scene and of situation would be for our mutual benefit. We therefore started from home last Friday morning and came directly through to this city. It proved to be the coldest morning of the year, the mercury standing at 22° below zero, but we came through very comfortably.

We feel a good deal more reconciled to our dreadful bereavement than we should have done at our lonely home where everything was calculated to remind us at every moment of our irreparable loss. We feel greatly obliged to you for the kindly sympathy expressed in your letter, and hope we may have the privilege to express that obligation to you personally before many months either in Washington or at our home in Burlington.

Yours sincerely,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 335 Fourth Ave., New York.

BURLINGTON, November 27, 1881.

My Dear Friend: . . . I have another little grandson, born Oct. 23, who will probably be named William B. after his paternal grandfather and his uncle. We are waiting to hear from his father on the subject before fixing upon the name. He does not yet fill the void left by the loss of our dear little Georgie, but will perhaps do so in time. His father sailed for the Mediterranean on the 10th of October, and has not been heard from since. He sailed first to Madeira, and thence to Cadiz in Spain, where he expected to arrive about the 10th of November; so that we are now in daily expectation of a letter from him. He might have remained in Washington another year, and we were in favor of his doing so. In that case we expected to spend the winter with him in Washington.

But Admiral Nicholson tendered him the post of chief of staff on board of his flagship, the Lancaster, and the opportunity was too inviting to be rejected. What he dreaded most was that at the end of another year he might be picked up and sent on a three years' cruise to China or some other out-of-the way and unpleasant station; whereas, he is now to be on the European station, which is the pleasantest of them all, and, what is more, Admiral Nicholson is to be retired April 1, 1883, so that his chief of staff will then return home. This reconciles us to his absence for eighteen months.

My health has not been very satisfactory during the past summer. . . . I went to Minnesota in July but was there taken quite unwell and returned home in fifteen days, much worse than before I went north. I have since spent a month in Chicago in the pursuit of health with little or no benefit. . . . I was seventy-seven years of age on the 24th of last month, and cannot expect to remain much longer with my little grandchildren. But for them I should care very little how soon I was laid by the side of my wife and two children. Still I keep myself busy in reading and writing a good share of my time, and hope to do so to the last. Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain.

Yours sincerely,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, Esq., 335 Fourth Ave., New York.

The end was now fast approaching. The next letter was the last I ever received from his hand. In the winter of 1881-82 his health broke down and he took to his bed reluctantly. He died on the morning of February 26, 1882. Following his last letter to me is one from his faithful daughter, dated March 27, giving me the details of his last days and a touching account of the sad days that followed. To him, in an especial manner since her mother's death, she had given intimate companionship and tender watchfulness and sympathy. Death ended all these loving cares, and with her husband far away across the seas, the hours were filled with lonely thoughts.

BURLINGTON, December 9, 1881.

My Dear Friend: We were very glad to receive your letter of Dec. 1, and I write this promptly in order to send the draft to pay for the frame for Mrs. Mason's portrait and boxing the same to be sent forward. Please have it sent by express or by a freight line as you may think best.

We are having fine winter weather now, and I am feeling the beneficial effects of it. I am rather inclined to risk staying here through the winter inasmuch as from present appearances we are likely to have a much milder season than usual.

We have had two letters from Capt. Remey since he crossed the Atlan-

tic. The last was written from Gibraltar, and we look for another daily. He expects to spend the winter in the Mediterranean. I wish we could all be there, too. But the way is too long. Even the journey to Florida looks so formidable that I am hardly willing to undertake it. We are very comfortable here, and should we go south it would all be on my account. I think I shall take the chances of remaining where the other members of the family can be made so much more comfortable, and I must keep myself within doors in rough weather.

Capt. Remy's youngest brother, Edward, is now with us, but expects to remain only a few days longer. He is a thorough sailor and feels most at home when at sea. He is only a lieutenant, and, having graduated since the war, while promotion has been slow, he will be fifty years old before he attains the rank of his eldest brother. The captain does not expect to be at home again before the spring of 1883, when he may expect to be many years on shore again. This reconciles us to his absence now.

We shall hope to see you in the west next season. I am glad to hear that you are getting quite a number of orders which will give you occupation, and profit also, as we hope. We have heard good accounts of you in this respect through the Brevoorts, and are always glad to learn of your welfare.

Mollie joins in the kindest regards.

Truly your friend,

CHAS. MASON.

GEO. H. YEWELL, ESQ., 578 Fifth Avenue, New York.

BURLINGTON, March 27th, 1882.

My Dear Friend: Your letter was most gratefully received, and should have been answered sooner, but as you foresaw I have had many demands upon my time. In my loneliness your sympathy is warmly appreciated, for it comes from the heart. I have often wished for your presence to minister to my father's enjoyment, for you are one of the few whose society would have been acceptable to him. Knowing that you were bound elsewhere, it did not occur to me to propose to you to come, but I frequently regretted that it was not possible for you to be with us. After my husband went to sea there seemed to be no one but myself to attend to the numberless little duties required by an invalid. It became fatiguing for him to write or sit long in his arm-chair, consequently much of his business was transacted while lying on the lounge, with me as an amanuensis. I was always at hand to assist, my father steadily refusing the services of a servant. It was only during the last few days of his life that he was willing to avail himself of the help of a professional nurse.

I have marked the failure in my father's strength for many months and felt assured that the end was not distant. Physicians agreed that there was little special disease but a general breaking down and wearing out, which was most discouraging. I knew if he once took to his bed he would never rise from it, and when on the 17th of February he decided that he was more comfortable in bed than elsewhere, I felt that the time was short.

For several weeks he had been harassed with an intensely sore throat, caused by the panting breath. That was the most trying feature of his illness. He had several turns of faintness induced by physical exertion, which I am convinced were caused by spasms of the heart—several times I thought him dying, while I was alone with him. These, however, were not experienced during the last days of his life, as he then was too weak for any effort to move himself. His intellectual faculties remained unimpaired until the last—he spoke but a few minutes before the last change—expressing his satisfaction at having me near him, and passed away as if he were falling asleep. Gov. Gear was with me at the time—and the nurse who has been in our family so much that we regard her as a friend.

My father's mortal remains were laid away in the receptacle he prepared for that purpose several years ago, and by his direction the burial casket was made from the wood of a walnut tree grown from a nut he had planted at the home farm.

Although my father's death was neither sudden nor unexpected, it is none the less a sad loss to me. I miss him as I would a child from the household, and at the same time he has been such a constant and intimate companion that it seems like losing both parents at once. I have mourned over his failing health, and felt how sad it was to witness a mind, active, energetic and interested in intellectual and scientific pursuits, weighed down by the infirmities of the body. I do not doubt the blessedness of the change for him, and I think of him as restored to youth and strength. We have had many interchanges of thought respecting the future life, and his unwavering belief in immortality and the reunion with loved ones is a consoling remembrance to me now.

My last letter from my husband was mailed at Smyrna—he had been to Egypt, but the weather had been too stormy to permit a stop at the Holy Land. I do not know whether the death of my father will hasten his return—otherwise he had not expected to come home until a year from this month. I am trying to take care of the children until he comes, but I sometimes lose courage, for I am alone with them, except the assistance of rather indifferent servants.

I hope to see you whenever you come west, for as long a visit as you can spare the time. I shall remain here for the present—I may spend a part of the summer among my father's relatives in central New York. Had he lived it was so planned, and now my friends are urging me to come with the children. I am so busy during the day that I have little time for reflection, but when the children are asleep, and I sit alone in the library, I realize the dreariness of that favorite spot. I intend to have the portraits of my parents placed there, to cheer the solitude in some measure.

The picture frame came safely, and was in every respect satisfactory except it was a little too broad. That defect was remedied by placing a strip of wood so as to cover the crack. The portrait is greatly improved in effect by the frame, and every one remarks upon the strong resemblance to my mother.

Yours very sincerely,

MARY J. REMEY.

MR. YEWELL.

Judge Mason always impressed me as an eminently just man, fearlessly doing that which his judgment and conscience approved as the right thing, at the same time carefully respecting the rights of others. Judge George G. Wright, of Des Moines, said of him that "he was honest as a man and as a judge; of the cleanest habits; had an utter abhorrence of the dissolute and intemperate, and exercised a most beneficial example on the side of morality."

In conclusion I will partially reproduce some words of mine written about him several years ago.

He was a man over six feet in height, thin and somewhat angular. His movements were energetic, and he carried himself erect, a habit formed during his military education at West Point. His mind was by nature a judicial one. He was an attentive listener; arranged his thoughts carefully before clothing them in words; not much given to talking; rather reticent than otherwise, yet capable of being very interesting when he did talk, and having a quick sense of humor that brought with it a cheery smile and a twinkle of the eye. He was merciful and kind-hearted, and never any but pure words came from his lips. He had no bad or useless habits; used no tobacco or spirits, and, I believe, never drank coffee or tea until he was quite advanced in life. He was careful of money, economical and self-denying, and yet very few people knew of the many young men he befriended and assisted with money. I know of one for whom he did that and more, for to me he stood in the place of a father, giving me not only advice and money, but that which was better and more precious,—affection.

IN JUNE, 1854, four colored people—long-time residents—were arrested in Galena, Ill., for the purpose of expelling them from the state, under a law then existing. A writ of habeas corpus, however, set them free again, and the movement was denounced even by pro-slavery people in Iowa, and presumably also in Illinois.

IOWA AT VICKSBURG AND THE VICKSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.

BY COL. J. K. P. THOMPSON.

The National Military Park at Vicksburg, Mississippi, is the outgrowth of "The Vicksburg National Military Park Association," a corporation organized and existing under and by virtue of the laws of Mississippi. It was organized October 23, 1895, and incorporated November 22, 1895. The incorporators included both northern and southern gentlemen, but only those who had served in the Vicksburg campaign.

The officers and directors are as follows:

OFFICERS.

President, Lieutenant-General Stephen D. Lee, Mississippi.

Vice-President, Hon. W. O. Mitchell, Iowa.

Secretary, Captain W. T. Rigby, Iowa.

Treasurer, Colonel C. C. Flowerree, Mississippi.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Colonel J. K. P. Thompson, Iowa; Captain W. W. Stone, Mississippi; Governor W. D. Hoard, Wisconsin; General A. Hickenlooper, Ohio; Captain E. S. Butts, Mississippi.

DIRECTORS.

Col. J. K. P. Thompson, Iowa.

Gen. Geo. F. McGinnis, Indiana.

Col. J. G. Everest, Illinois.

Col. Frederick D. Grant, New York.

Gen. A. G. Weissert, Wisconsin.

Gen. John Sanborn, Minnesota.

Gen. Joseph Stockton, Illinois.

Col. Lee Rassieur, Missouri.

Gen. John S. Kountz, Ohio.

Capt. E. S. Butts, Mississippi.

Capt. W. W. Stone, Mississippi.

Gen. A. Hickenlooper, Ohio.

Col. Harry Weissenger, Kentucky.

Capt. J. S. Pilcher, Tennessee.

Gen. E. W. Pettus, Alabama.

Lieut.-Gen. J. B. Gordon, Georgia.

Maj. B. N. Harrod, Louisiana.

Gen. J. C. Tappan, Arkansas.

Gen. T. N. Waul, Texas.

Senator F. M. Cockrell, Missouri.

Gen. John P. S. Gobin, Penn.

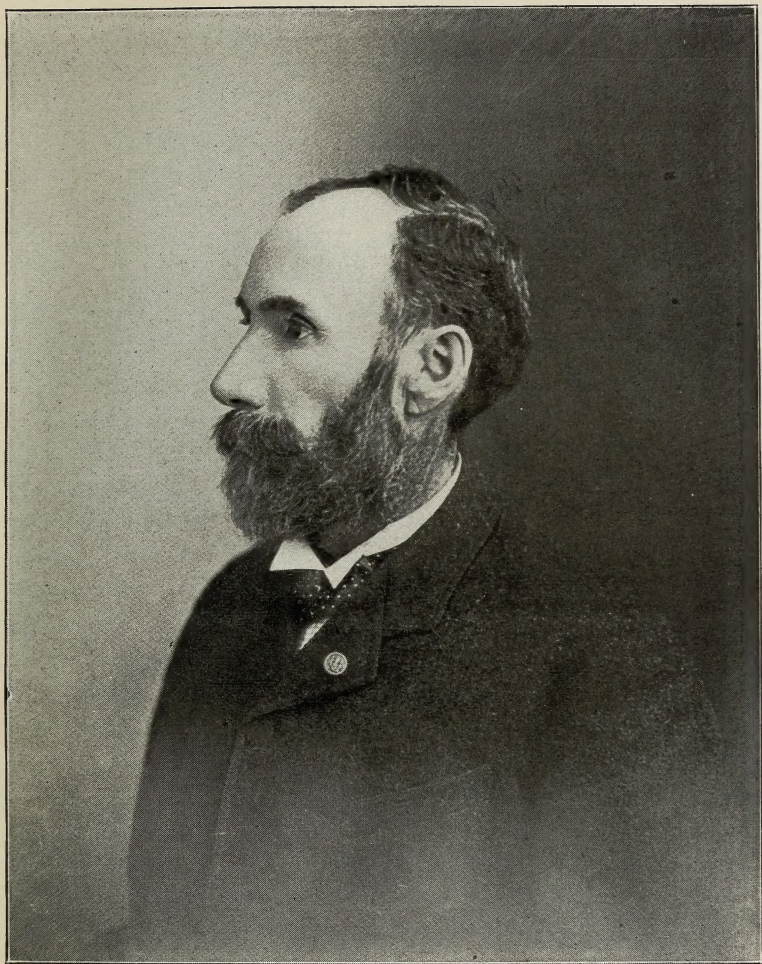
Gen. John M. Wilson, U. S. A.

Gov. W. D. Hoard, Wisconsin.

Hon. Wm. Olin, Massachusetts.

Rear Admiral George Brown, U. S. N., (retired).

When the writer was elected commander of the Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, in 1895, it was understood that his administration should be signalized by an unyielding and persistent effort to establish a Military



*Faithfully Yours,
J. K. P. Thompson*

COL. J. K. P. THOMPSON,
Commander of the Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, 1895-'96, and
a member of the Board of Directors of "The Vicksburg National
Military Park Association."

Park at Vicksburg. His compeers were Capt. J. F. Merry, Capt. W. T. Rigby, Maj. C. L. Davidson, Col. D. J. Palmer, Dr. C. C. Bradley, Hon. W. H. Norris, and many other distinguished Union soldiers of Iowa.

As a result, a resolution favoring the establishment of the park was introduced by the Department of Iowa at the National Encampment, G. A. R., at Louisville, September, 1895, which was unanimously adopted, and the park officially launched, with the endorsement of the National Encampment. At a meeting of the association, November 22, 1895, on motion of Gen. Lucius Fairchild (a member of the first board of directors, but since deceased), it was decided that "The proposed park should include the lines of earthworks of the opposing armies, and the land included within those lines, with such additions as are necessary to include the headquarters of Generals Grant and Pemberton, such of the water batteries as it may be desirable to designate, and other historical spots;" and on motion of Col. Thompson, "The executive committee of the board was instructed to urge upon congress the establishment of a National Military Park on the grounds outlined by the motion of Gen. Fairchild, and where practicable to secure options on the lands included within the lines of the proposed park." Shares of stock were placed at \$5.00, and one hundred shares reported sold and paid for. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, Maj. C. L. Davidson, Col. C. C. Floweree, Capt. E. S. Butts, and Capt. W. T. Rigby, were appointed a committee charged with the duty of preparing a bill for the establishment of the park, of presenting the same to congress, and of obtaining and presenting to congress accurate information as to the cost of the land included in the bill for the proposed park. Pursuant to these instructions, a survey of the premises was made, a map prepared, and options on a large part of the land secured. A bill was prepared and in due time was presented to congress by Gen. Catchings, representing the Vicksburg district. As a result of several weeks of arduous labor, the committee was

enabled to announce a favorable report of the house committee on military affairs, and the bill was placed on the calendar, where it was destined to remain, however, for several years.

During the years of 1895, 1896, 1897 and 1898, the friends of the measure were active and unremitting in their efforts to secure the passage of the bill, the secretary, Capt. Rigby, devoting most of his time and energy to its accomplishment. To the indefatigable efforts of Capt. J. F. Merry, formerly of the 21st Iowa, more than to any other person, are we indebted for the establishment of the park. He was untiring and persistent in his efforts, laying railroads, congressmen, legislators, and men of affairs, under constant tribute, till it was truthfully said of him—"What he proposes, that he performs."

In January, 1896, as commander of the Department of Iowa, G. A. R., I issued a circular letter in which attention was called to the measure, and wherein some of the reasons why Iowa should take a leading part in the establishment of the park were set forth. I quote here a portion of the same:

In the reduction of that Gibraltar of the Confederacy, the State of Iowa had so large and distinguished a part—seventy per cent of her total levy being engaged therein*—that it fell with peculiar fitness to her to take the initiative in this movement. The siege of Vicksburg stands unique and will be memorable in the annals of war. In the science of grand strategy it marked an era. The campaign is without parallel, if we except the picturesque scaling of the Swiss mountains and the descent into Lombardy by the great Napoleon, or his brilliant campaign which terminated at Ulm, and in the opinion of competent military critics, "in boldness of plan, rapidity of execution, and brilliancy of results," compares most favorably with those of the great Corsican. No field of battle ever witnessed greater deeds of valor than those rugged hills.

The capture of this stronghold was big with results, and was second only in importance to Appomattox itself. It severed the Confederacy in twain, opened the Mississippi to navigation, and in the forcible language

*The following regiments and batteries were engaged in the siege proper: Infantry—The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 35th, 38th, 40th. Cavalry—3d and 4th. Batteries—1st and 2d. The 2d Cavalry was with Hatch in the famous Grierson raid. The 27th Infantry was with Sherman in Gen. Grant's movement to the Tallehatchie, November, 1862, and the 29th, 33d, and 36th were in the famous Yazoo Pass expedition, or 77 per cent of the whole number furnished by the State of Iowa.

of President Lincoln, "The Father of Waters rolled unvexed to the sea." The loss to the enemy of at least *sixty thousand soldiers, one hundred and seventy-two cannon, and sixty thousand stand of arms, was at that time the largest capture of men and material ever made in war.*

To quote from an admirable general order, addressed by Gen. Gordon to the United Confederate Camps:

For forty-seven days and nights those blood-stained and storm-crowned heights raged with incessant conflict, and witnessed by turn the assault upon its heroic and stubborn defenders and the repulse of the gallant and obstinate attacking party. By day, sheeted flame issued from every crest of the hills, around this famous citadel of courage, and by night the deadly and destructive boom lighted the heavens with its lurid and baleful light.

Large numbers of the circulars were distributed, and we trust bore good fruit. During the winter of 1895-6 the legislatures of the states of Iowa, Mississippi, New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, each by joint resolution, endorsed the park bill and asked for its passage by congress, as did most of the Department Encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic, and many of the Commanderies of the Loyal Legion, Society of the Tennessee, and the United Confederate Camps. During the winter of 1896-7 the legislatures of the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, each adopted joint resolutions, asking for the establishment of the park, and requesting their delegations in congress to labor to secure the passage of the bill. The Department Encampments of the Grand Army of the Republic and the National Encampment at Buffalo again approved the bill and named committees to promote its passage.

In December, 1897, through the courtesy of Capt. Merry, five members of the House Committee on Military Affairs, Fifty-fifth congress, namely: Hull, Griffith, Belknap, Lentz, and McDonald, visited Vicksburg with a view to ascertaining facts to enable them to judge of the feasibility of establishing and maintaining the park. In January, 1898, Gen. Gobin, Commander-in-Chief, on behalf of the Grand Army of the Republic, Col. Fred. D. Grant, on behalf of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, and Capt. Rigby, on behalf

of the Park Association, met in Washington and again urged upon Speaker Reed and the House Committee on Rules the claims of the park bill.

Early in the year 1898 the legislature of the state of Tennessee, by joint resolution, endorsed the bill and asked for its passage by congress. In January, 1899, Capt. Rigby, Hon. W. O. Mitchell, both of Iowa, representing the Park Association, Col. Everest of Illinois, also a member of the association and representing the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, Col. N. M. Hubbard, representing the Department of Iowa, Grand Army of the Republic, again visited Washington in the interest of the park bill, when, being granted an audience with the speaker, Col. Hubbard made one of his characteristic arguments, and a powerful plea for its early consideration. Congressman Henderson (now speaker of the house), Catchings of the Vicksburg district, Griffin, Belknap, Cousins and Hull (both of Iowa), were active and earnest in their support. As a result, Capt. Hull, on February 6, 1899, was recognized by the speaker, the bill called up and promptly and unanimously passed by the house. Four days later it was passed by the senate, and on February 21, 1899, approved by the President.

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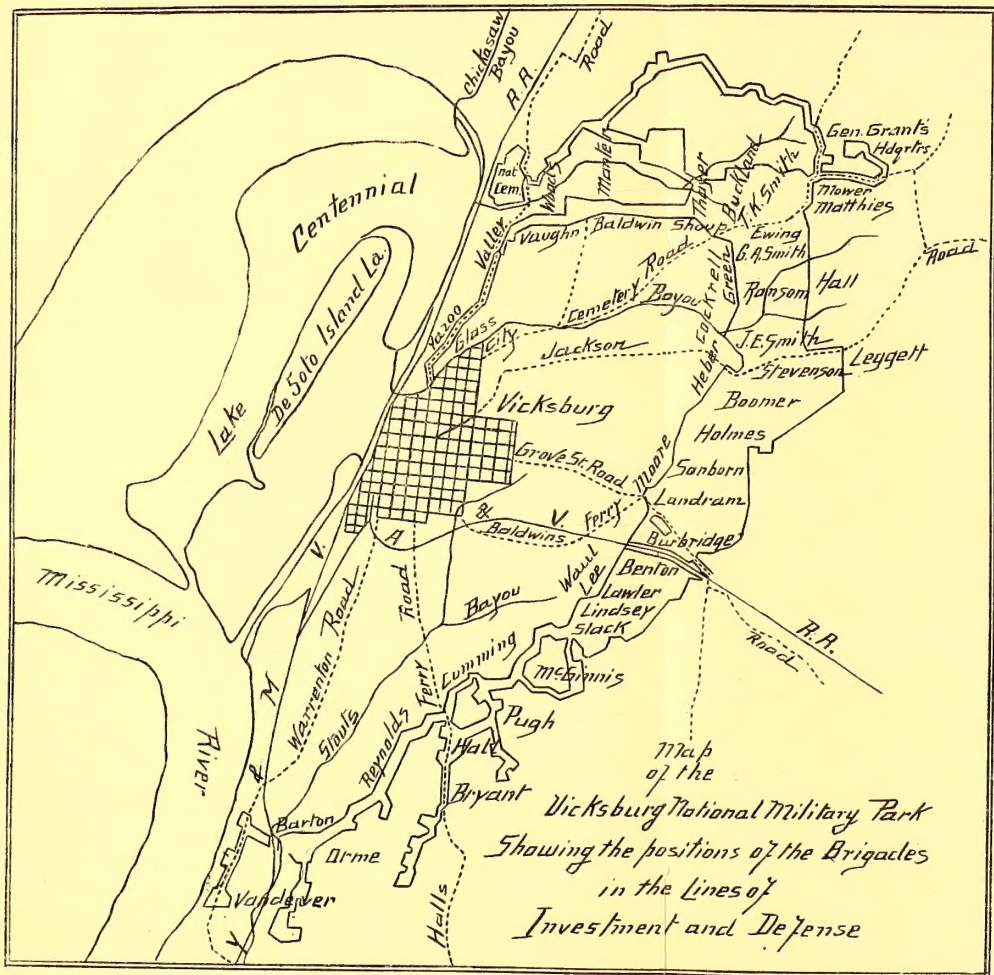
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S. Kountz of Ohio as secretary and historian, and Capt. Chas. L. Longley of Iowa assistant secretary.

Section 5 of the act establishing the park reads as follows:

That it shall be the duty of the commissioners named in the preceding section, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to restore the forts and the lines of fortifications, the parallels and the approaches of the two armies, or so much thereof as may be necessary to the purposes of this park; to open and construct and to repair such roads as may be necessary to said purposes, and to ascertain and mark with historical tablets, or otherwise, as the Secretary of War may determine, the lines of battle of the troops engaged in the assaults, and the lines held by the troops during the siege and defense of Vicksburg, the headquarters of Gen. Grant and of Gen. Pemberton, and other historical points of interest pertaining to the siege and defense of Vicksburg within the park or its vicinity.

Authority to mount guns was given by a subsequent act of congress.

It is the purpose of the commission, with the approval of the Secretary of War, to restore substantially the earthworks of the two armies, and to remount all the old guns so far as they can be procured, in their old places. Forts will be restored to their original size and height, ditches opened to their former depth, rifle-pits, parallels, approaches, saps and mines reopened, sap-rollers constructed, placed *and maintained* in position—in fact, it is the intention to restore the theater of operations as nearly as may be to what it was at the close of the siege July 4, 1863. There are 1232.28 acres within the limits of the park. There will be more than twenty-five miles of costly and artistically built avenues and drives constructed, the precipitous hills graded, the ravines spanned with costly masonry and modern steel bridges, thus affording easy access to and perfect views of what is expected to be the greatest Military Park in the world. There will be an avenue just in the rear of the line of Confederate earthworks eight miles long, one along the main line of the Union earthworks through the main body of the park about five miles in length; one from Union avenue to Gen. Grant's headquarters, and one along the public roads running through the park or along its boundaries.

Historical tablets, markers and monuments of the Confederate organizations engaged in the defense will be placed on the line of the first named points, and those of the Federals along Union avenue.

The reasons why this famous battlefield should be converted into a great Military Park are various and potent. It was the first really great and determining victory achieved by the Union forces, and was second only in importance to Appomattox itself. It severed the Confederacy in twain, opened up the Mississippi—the great artery of commerce—to navigation, inspired new hope in the north and corresponding gloom in the south, and brought the first great relief to President Lincoln and the loyal millions of the north. The loss to the enemy was at that time unparalleled in the annals of war. Gen. Grant, in his official report, says:

The results of the campaign were: The defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least 10,000 killed and wounded, among the killed, Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green, and hundreds, and perhaps thousands of stragglers who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands.*

But Gen. Grant was evidently generous to his enemy, for Gen. Badeau, in his "Military History of Gen. Grant," on page 398, Vol. I, states the total loss to have been 60,000.† When it is remembered that three Confederate divisions did not report, viz.: Baldwin's, Vaughn's, and Dockery's, and that the losses in Loring's division, which was cut off at Cham-

*Official Records, Vol. 24, Part I, page 58.

†The records of the Commissary General of Prisoners show a total of 42,059 prisoners captured during the Vicksburg campaign after the 1st of May. As Grant lost during that time nearly 9,000 men in killed and wounded, it is fair to suppose that Pemberton and Johnson, so repeatedly and disastrously beaten, lost 12,000. Any one who has seen war is aware how small the estimate, 6,000, is for stragglers in an unsuccessful campaign. The calculation is simple:

Prisoners.....	42,000
Killed and wounded	12,000
Stragglers.....	6,000
Total.....	60,000

pion's Hill and wandered about for several days and nights before joining Johnson at Jackson, and whose losses were necessarily large, are not given, the discrepancy in the report is easily accounted for.

We doubt if the hardships endured in this campaign, and the exceeding mental and physical strain that was placed upon all, are fully realized by the present generation; drawing two days' rations, which were destined to last many weeks;* marching day and night; bivouacking at night in the rain; water many inches deep; sleeping upon rails, boards, logs, or anything or anywhere that would afford any kind of protection from the drenching rain and water-covered earth. The fatigue and strain upon the troops thus for more than ninety days, was almost unprecedented. Gen. Hovey says:†

The strain upon my forces was extreme. For more than forty days they were under constant fire, casualties happening daily in the midst of their camps. *Men were killed and wounded in their beds, at the table, and in the rifle-pits.*

Col. G. W. Clark, of the 34th Iowa, says:

One-half of my men who were able for duty were on duty all the time. Not unfrequently I was compelled, in order to fill the details, to send men who had just been relieved, thus keeping the same men out in the ditches for forty-eight hours without rest.

L. D. Ingersoll wrote:

Out of fifty-six days in those two months the "effective force" of the 4th Cavalry was in the saddle fifty-two.‡

Col. Grierson says:||

We marched over 600 miles in less than sixteen days (forty miles per day). The last twenty-eight hours we marched seventy-six miles, and had four

*Gen. Grant says in his Memoirs, Vol. I, page 529: "Most of the army had now been for three weeks with only five days' rations issued by the commissary."

Col. Ashbel Smith of the 2d Texas, not always reliable, however, says that his command was "tired, ragged, dirty, barefoot, hungry, covered with vermin, with scanty supply of ammunition; rations reduced to a little more than enough to sustain life, five ounces of musty corn meal and pea flour were nominally issued daily. In point of fact this allowance didn't exceed three ounces."

In an appeal for help addressed to Gen. Pemberton, June 28, 1863, signed "Many Soldiers," it is stated, "Our rations have been cut down to one biscuit and a small bit of bacon per day,—this army is now ripe for mutiny unless it can be fed. Just think of one small biscuit and one or two mouthfuls of bacon per day."

†Page 241, Vol. 24, Part II, Official Records.

‡Ingersoll's "Iowa in the Rebellion," page 422.

||Vol. 24, Part I, page 528, Official Records.

engagements with the enemy. During this time the men and horses were without food or rest.

Gen. Grant says:*

Since leaving Milliken's Bend they (the troops) have marched as much by night as by day, through mud and rain, without tents or much other baggage, and on irregular rations.

And on page 35 says—

Privations have been endured by men and officers as have rarely been paralleled in any campaign.

The strain upon the Confederate forces was even greater than that on the Federal. Gen. Stephen D. Lee says in his report:†

The enemy had also from fifteen to thirty pieces of artillery in front of my lines, which kept up a heavy fire during both day and night. There was no relief whatever to our men who were confined for forty-seven days in their narrow trenches without any opportunity of moving about, as there was during the day a perfect rain of minie balls.

There must have been a perfect rain of cannon balls also if we are to believe the report of Gen. John C. Moore, C. S. A.:

Some idea may be formed of the artillery fire to which we were exposed when I state that a small party sent out for that purpose collected some 2,000 shells near and in the rear of the trenches occupied by our brigade. This was soon after the siege began, and it was but a portion of those that failed to explode. Only those who have tried it can tell the effect produced on men by keeping them forty-seven days and nights in narrow ditches, exposed to the scorching heat during the day, and often the chilly air and dews of night.‡

Gen. Louis Hebert says:

Forty-eight days and nights spent in trenches, exposed to the burning sun during the day and the chilly air of night, subject to a murderous storm of balls, shells, and war missiles of all kinds, cramped up in pits and holes not large enough to allow them to stretch their limbs; laboring day and night; fed on reduced rations of the poorest kind of food.||

Sufficient has been said, I think, to establish the fact of the extreme hardships of the campaign and of the privations endured.

*Vol. 24, Part I, page 33, Official Records.

†Vol. 24, Part II, page 351.

‡Ibid, page 382.

||Vol. 24, Part II, page 377, Official Records.

Now, let us look for a moment upon the percentage of loss, which in many of the engagements will compare favorably with those of the most sanguinary European battles, either in ancient or modern times.* Gen. Dodge, of the U. S. army, in his "Caesar,"† gives a table of casualties in some ancient battles, citing twelve engagements in which there were engaged from 5,000 to 50,000 by the offensive party, in which the average percentage of loss is given at 27+ per cent. At Waterloo the French lost 21+ per cent,‡ and in the famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava the loss was but 67+ per cent, and this was but a cavalry dash of a few hundred.||

The 17th Iowa at Champion's Hill lost in killed and wounded 25 per cent of the number engaged (report of Col. Hillis). Col. Holden Putnam, 93d Illinois, states the strength of his brigade to have been 1,700 men, and his loss at Champion's Hill 510, 30 per cent. Col. E. S. Sampson, 5th Iowa,§ reports his loss to have been 27 per cent. Gen. McGinnis reports his loss at Champion's Hill to have been, in the 11th Indiana 36 per cent, 24th Indiana 40 per cent, and an average per cent of the whole infantry force engaged, 26.20 per cent.

*In Fox's "Regimental Losses," page 46, the percentage of losses in some of the greatest wars and famous battles of the world are given. In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 the German loss is stated to have been 3.1 per cent. In the Crimean war the allied armies are said to have lost 3.2 per cent—but in the American civil war the loss of the Union forces is given at 4.7 per cent, and the Confederate 9 per cent.

At the battle of Gravelotte, the Germans lost in killed and mortally wounded 14+ per cent, while Meade's loss at Gettysburg was 28 per cent, and Lee's considerably more. All the historians, we believe, agree that Borodino was the bloodiest battle since the introduction of gunpowder; the most credible statement of the losses sustained places the French loss in killed and wounded at 21 per cent, and the Russian loss at about 22 per cent.

Assuming that Pemberton had but 41,074 men at Vicksburg, his loss being 10,074 would make his percentage of loss (not including those surrendered) at 25+ per cent. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, in "Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society," says Pemberton's March (1863) returns, show, present for duty, 41,829, which agrees with his total losses and the number surrendered. Grant had 45,000 men when he began the campaign and about 70,000 at the close of the siege; his loss was 10,014, or 14+ per cent.

†Dodge's "Caesar," page 781.

‡Bourrienne, Vol. 4, page 180.

||McCarthy's "History of Our Times," Vol. 2, page 576.

§Vol. 24, Part II, page 316, Official Records.

The 21st Iowa lost 113 in killed, wounded and missing in the assault on the Confederate works May 22, 1863.* I am unable to determine satisfactorily the number engaged, but assuming it to be the same as the 22d Iowa, to-wit: 200, its loss would be 56+ per cent. Lieut. Cooley of Company D of the same regiment, in a recent letter states: "When we left for Jackson we had for duty about 160 men. Company D left Vicksburg with 12 men and during the siege of Jackson was reduced to 6 men."

Sergeant E. B. Snedigar, of the same company in a recent letter says: "In the record kept by Capt. Boardman I find 'our regiment lost fully one-half in killed and wounded on the 22d of May.'"

Geo. Crooke, adjutant of the regiment, says in his "History of the Twenty-first Iowa," on page 112, "The regiment numbered for effective service less than 200 men and officers, and arrived at Jackson mustering only 158 men for duty."

In a letter received recently from Wm. Fobes, a private in Company D, he states that he was the only private soldier in the company reporting for duty at that time.

Lieut.-Col. Harvey Graham, of the 22d Iowa, says in a communication addressed to Maj. Gen. McClermand, Sept. 1, 1863,† that the strength of his regiment in the assault upon the Confederate works May 22, 1863, was 200. The loss of the regiment‡ was 164 or 82 per cent, far exceeding the loss of the Light Brigade made famous by Lord Tennyson.

A useless and criminal loss occurred at Jackson, Miss., July 12, 1863, in the brigade commanded by Col. I. C. Pugh, of the 41st Illinois, through the incompetency and criminal negligence of Gen. Lauman. The brigade went into action with 880 officers and men and lost 465 or 53 per cent. Thus the estimate placed upon his ability by C. A. Dana was verified.||

*Vol. 24, Part II, page 161, Official Records.

†Vol. 24, Part I, page 178.

‡Vol. 24, Part II, page 161.

||"Lauman is a brave man, but an ox is just as fit to command." Official Records, Vol. 24, Part I, page 108.

The 3d Iowa lost on that day 47 per cent of those engaged.

Col. Waul, of the Texas Legion, reports a loss of more than one-third of his command.* Maj. Gen. John H. Forney a loss in his division of 24 per cent. Gen. S. M. Barton† says the loss in his brigade at Champion's Hill was over 42 per cent.

The troops marched from 12 to 28 miles per day; the 5th Iowa, 16 miles for six consecutive days; Gen. Ewing's brigade, 85 miles in three days—28 miles per day. Gen. Bowen says that "Gen. Tracy's brigade marched 100 miles, fought for twelve hours an army of five times their number, and all in the space of five days."

When it is remembered that these men carried not only their weapons and probably an average of forty rounds of cartridges, their rations, such as they had, knapsacks, and in fact furnished the transportation as well as the fighting machines for the army, it will readily be seen to what extreme fatigue they were exposed, and to what a trial their endurance was subjected.

By an act of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, approved March 29, 1900, the governor was authorized to appoint a commission "To ascertain and exactly determine the positions of the Iowa troops in the campaign and siege of Vicksburg." Under the provisions of this act the governor appointed a commission, of which the writer was elected chairman. The commission visited Vicksburg in November, 1900, and duly located the several positions of the Iowa troops. Commissioners from the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, Minnesota, Missouri and Mississippi, have also visited the park and located the positions of their troops. Commissioners from the states of Texas, Tennessee and Illinois will perform their work at an early date. It is

*Vol. 24, Part II, page 358, Official Records.

†Ibid, page 100.

expected that commissions will be authorized and appointed from every state which had troops in Grant's, Pemberton's and Johnston's armies. The State of Iowa was the second state to locate positions, having been preceded a few days by Massachusetts.

The following statement shows the Union military organizations in the Vicksburg campaign:

Illinois—Infantry, 52; Cavalry, 10; Artillery, 15; total ...	77
Indiana—Infantry, 24; Cavalry, 2; Artillery, 2; total.....	28
Iowa—Infantry, 28; Cavalry, 2; Artillery, 2; total	32
Kansas—Infantry	1
Kentucky—Infantry, 3; Pioneers, 1; total.....	4
Massachusetts—Infantry.....	3
Michigan—Infantry, 7; Artillery, 2; total.....	9
Minnesota—Infantry, 3; Artillery, 1; total	4
Missouri—Infantry, 17; Cavalry, 3; Artillery, 7; total....	27
New Hampshire—Infantry.....	3
New York—Infantry, 3; Artillery, 1; total	4
Ohio—Infantry, 26; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 11; total	38
Pennsylvania—Infantry, 4; Artillery, 1; total	5
Rhode Island—Infantry	1
Regulars—Infantry, 2; Artillery, 1; total.....	3
West Virginia—Infantry.....	1
Wisconsin—Infantry, 13; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 3; total ..	17

This makes an aggregate of 192 regiments or parts of regiments of infantry, 19 regiments of cavalry, and 46 batteries of artillery—257 organizations, not including eight regiments of negroes in process of enlistment.

The Confederate strength under Gen. Pemberton at Vicksburg was as follows:

Alabama—Infantry, 9; Artillery, 3; total.....	12
Arkansas—Infantry, 5; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 2; total.....	8
Georgia—Infantry, 10; Artillery, 1; total.....	11
Louisiana—Infantry, 7; Artillery, 18; total.....	25
Missouri—Infantry, 5; Cavalry, 2; Artillery, 5; total.....	12
Mississippi—Infantry, 13; Artillery, 9; total.....	22
Maryland—Artillery.....	1
Tennessee—Infantry, 7; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 8; total....	16
Texas—Infantry, 3; Cavalry, 1; Artillery, 1; total	5
Virginia—Artillery.....	1

This including "City Guards," and "Partisan Rangers," credited to Mississippi, and, in the total, three companies "paroled" as "Signal Corps," with no state named, makes an aggregate of 62 regiments or parts of regiments of infantry, 5 of cavalry, and 49 batteries of artillery—116 organizations. At the same time Gen. Johnston appears to have had with him 85 regiments or parts of regiments of infantry, 3 of cavalry, and 14 batteries of artillery—102 organizations.

The following compilation of "Classified Casualties" in Iowa troops during the siege of Vicksburg and connected with the campaign from November, 1862, to the beginning of the siege proper, and after the close of the same, July 4, 1863, to the evacuation of Jackson, Miss., July 18, 1863, was furnished me by Adj. Gen. Melvin H. Byers, and is the work of Major T. F. Stephens, that most efficient, painstaking and obliging record clerk of the Iowa adjutant general's office. It is made from the written record of each regiment participating and will be found, I think, substantially correct. It differs, however, in several particulars from the table furnished by the United States Park Commission. This is notably true in the 21st, 23d, and 24th Infantry. It will thus be seen that Iowa lost 422 killed and 44 missing (who were doubtless among the killed), 151 captured, and 1,816 wounded, a total of 2,433.

IOWA AT VICKSBURG.

Casualties classified in Iowa organizations during the siege of Vicksburg, Miss., from May 19 to July 4, 1863, and in battles, raids, scouts, and skirmishes prior to the siege and closely connected therewith, from November, 1862, and in the operations against Jackson, Miss., and its siege and evacuation, July 17, 1863, as taken from the records and Adjutant General's Reports of 1867.

Organization	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Total
2D CAV.	Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 2, '62 ....	....	....	1	....	1
	Holly Springs, Miss., Nov. 20, '62 ....	....	....	....	1	1
	Linnville, Tenn., Nov. 24, '62	1	....	....	....	1
	Water Valley, Miss., Dec. 4, '62	1	1	....	....	2
	Coffeeville, Miss., Dec. 5, '62 .....	....	5	2	1	8
	Oxford, Miss., Dec. 5, '62. ....	....	1	....	....	1
	Oxford, Miss., Dec. 30, '62 .....	....	1	5	....	6
	Grand Junction, Miss., Jan. 13, '63 ..	1	....	....	....	1
	Grand Junction, Miss., March 23, '63 ....	....	1	....	....	1
	Palo Alto, Miss., April 21, '63 .....	....	....	6	....	6
	Near La Grange, Tenn., April 25, '63 ..	....	1	....	....	1
	Wall's Hills, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	2	....	....	2
	Gibson's Plantation, Miss., May 18, '63 ....	....	2	....	....	2
	Santahoba, Miss., May 20, '63 .....	....	....	2	....	2
	Santahoba, Miss., May 23, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals	3	15	16	2	36
3D CAV.	Clinton, Miss., July 8, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Jackson, Miss., July 5, '63 .....	....	....	....	1	1
	Totals .....	....	1	....	1	2
4TH CAV.	Raymond, Miss., May 12, '63	1	3	....	....	4
	Raymond, Miss., May 25, '63 .....	....	....	1	....	1
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., May 24, '63 ..	....	1	....	....	1
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., May 29, '63 ..	....	6	....	....	6
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., June 6, '63 ..	....	....	1	....	1
	Mechanicsburg, Miss., June 29, '63 ..	....	1	....	....	1
	Black River, Miss., June 22, '63	2	2	24	....	28
	Bear Creek, Miss., June 22, '63	7	2	....	....	9
	Rear Vicksburg, Miss., June 27, '63 ..	....	....	1	....	1
	Totals	10	15	27	....	52
Grand totals, 3 regiments cavalry .		13	31	43	3	90
3D INF.	On board steamer "Crescent City," near Island No. 82, July 18, '63 ....	....	14	....	....	14
	Vicksburg, (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	1	10	....	....	11
	Jackson, Miss., July 12, '63	17	62	13	8	100
	Totals	18	86	13	8	125

Organi- zation	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Total
4TH INF	Vicksburg or Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 28, 29, '62	6	111	....	....	117
	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	2	32	....	....	34
	Totals	8	144	....	....	152
5TH INF	Coffeeville, Miss., Dec. 5, '62 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	4	1	....	5
	Champion's Hill, Miss., May 16, '63 ..	15	77	1	....	93
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	4	23	....	....	27
	Totals	19	105	2	....	126
6TH INF	Black River Bridge and Jones Ford, July 3 and 6, '63	1	12	2	1	16
	Jackson, Miss., July 10, 11, 15, 16, '63	4	27	3	5	39
	Near Jackson, Miss., May 13, 14, '63. ....	....	....	2	....	2
	Totals	5	39	7	6	57
8TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	7	....	....	7
	Jackson, Miss., July 10, 11, 12, 16, '63	....	4	11	....	15
	Totals .....	....	11	11	....	22
9TH INF	Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 29, '62 .....	....	3	....	....	3
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	33	95	....	....	128
	Totals	33	98	....	....	131
10TH INF	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63	35	137	2	1	175
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	2	27	....	1	30
	Totals	37	164	2	2	205
11TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 4 to July 4, '63	1	1	....	....	2
	Totals	1	1	....	....	2
12TH INF	Jackson, Miss., July 11, '63 .....	....	....	6	....	6
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	1	4	....	....	5
	Totals	1	4	6	....	11
13TH INF	Raymond, Miss., May 16, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals .....	....	2	....	....	2
* 15TH INF	Mechanicsville, Miss., Haines' Bluff, Miss., Vicksburg (siege of) Black River, May, June, July, '63 .....	....	....	....	....	....

*Record does not show any casualties in this regiment in the Vicksburg campaign.

Organi- zation	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Totals
16TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	1	1	....	2
	Totals .....	....	1	1	....	2
17TH INF	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63	17	64	1	1	83
	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63	5	47	4	1	57
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	5	24	1	....	30
	Totals	27	135	6	2	170
19TH INF	*Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	....	....	....	....
	Yazoo City, Miss., about July 14, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals .....	....	1	....	....	1
20TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	1	5	....	....	6
	Totals	1	5	....	....	6
21ST INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63	1	13	3	....	17
	Black River, May 17, '63	7	53	1	1	62
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	25	72	3	1	101
	Jackson, Miss., July 11, 17, '63	1	7	....	1	9
	Totals	34	145	7	3	†189
22D INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63	2	15	....	....	17
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	34	131	10	1	176
	Jackson, Miss., July 17, '63 .....	....	7	....	....	7
	Totals	36	153	10	1	200
23D INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63	7	16	1	....	24
	Black River, May 17, '63	10	80	....	....	90
	Milliken's Bend, June 7, '63	24	19	....	....	†43
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63	1	3	....	....	4
	Totals	42	118	1	....	\$161
24TH INF	Milliken's Bend, April 27, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	....	4	....	....	4
	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63	45	104	7	....	156
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63 .....	....	7	....	....	7
	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Totals	45	117	7	....	||169

*Record shows no casualties.

†The U. S. Commissioner's figures, Art. 217.

‡See Official Records, Part I, vol. 24, page 96. Loss 86.

§The U. S. Commissioners' figures, Art. 229.

||The U. S. Commissioners' figures, Art. 200.

Organi- zation	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Totals
25TH INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63.....	7	47	3	9	66
	Raymond, May 15, '63.....	....	....	1	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	13	42	....	4	59
	Jackson, Miss., July 12, 13, '63.....	1	1	....	....	2
	Totals	21	90	4	13	128
26TH INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63	18	73	....	....	91
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	7	28	1	1	37
	Totals	25	101	1	1	128
28TH INF	Port Gibson, May 1, '63	1	18	....	....	19
	Champion's Hill, May 16, '63	23	69	10	4	106
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	3	7	....	....	10
	Jackson, Miss, July 11, 20, '63.....	....	1	1	....	2
	Totals	27	95	11	4	137
30TH INF	Chickasaw Bayou, Dec. 29, '62 .....	....	2	....	....	2
	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63	4	38	....	....	42
	Champion's Hill, May 18, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	12	62	....	....	74
	Totals	16	103	....	....	119
31ST INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63 .....	....	12	....	....	12
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	4	20	....	....	24
	Totals	4	32	....	....	36
34TH INF	Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, '63	1	7	....	....	8
	On steamer "Nebraska" Jan. 25, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	2	4	....	....	6
	Totals	3	12	....	....	15
35TH INF	Black River, July 4, '63	1	....	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	....	2	....	....	2
	Jackson, Miss., July 12, 14, '63.....	1	1	10	1	13
	Totals	2	3	10	1	16
38TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	1	1	....	....	2
	Totals	1	1	....	....	2
* 40TH INF	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	....	....	....	....	....
	Grand totals 28 regiments infantry	406	1766	99	41	2312

*Ordered to Haines' Bluffs May 31, '63, to take part in Vicksburg campaign, but had no casualties. In "Army of Observation"—so called.

Organi- zation	Battles and Dates	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Missing	Totals
Lt. Artil						
1ST BAT	Port Gibson, May 1, '63 .....	....	3	....	....	3
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	1	5	....	....	6
	Totals	1	8	....	....	9
2D BAT	Jackson, Miss., May 14, '63 .....	....	1	....	....	1
	Vicksburg (siege of) May 18 to July 4, '63.....	1	4	....	....	5
	Totals	1	5	....	....	6
	Grand totals, 2 batteries artillery ..	2	13	....	....	15

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE.

27TH INF	Near Waterford, Miss., Nov., Dec., '62 .....	....	2	2	....	4
29TH INF	Yazoo Pass, April, '63.....	*1	....	....	....	1
33D INF	Yazoo Pass, Feb., '63 .....	....	....	7	....	7
36TH INF	Yazoo Expedition, Feb., '63 .....	....	4	....	....	4
	Grand totals, 4 regiments infantry	1	6	9	....	16

SUMMARY.

Cavalry, 3 regiments.....	13	31	43	3	90
Infantry, 28 regiments	406	1766	99	41	2312
Artillery, 2 batteries	2	13	....	....	15
Infantry, 4 regiments (supplementary table) ..	1	6	9	....	16
Grand totals	422	1816	151	44	2433
Casualties at siege of Vicksburg (proper), May 18 to July 4, 1863.....	154	619	16	8	797
Casualties all other engagements in the Vicks- burg campaign from Nov. 1862, to July 18, 1863, aside from siege proper	268	1197	135	36	1636
Grand totals.....	422	1816	151	44	2433

*Drowned in Tallehatchie river.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
DES MOINES, IOWA, October 16, 1901. }

Col. J. K. P. Thompson, Rock Rapids, Iowa:

DEAR COLONEL: Replying to your inquiry of October 15, I beg to submit the following list of organizations and troops furnished by the State of Iowa during the War of the Rebellion, as taken from Adjutant General N. B. Baker's Report for 1865.

M. H. BYERS,

Adjutant General.

Organization	Men	Organization	Men
1st Infantry, 3 mos.....	915	34th Infantry, 3 yrs.....	953
2d " 3 yrs.....	1247	35th " ".....	984
3d " ".....	1074	36th " ".....	986
4th " ".....	1184	37th " ".....	914
5th " ".....	1037	38th " ".....	910
6th " ".....	1013	39th " ".....	933
7th " ".....	1138	40th " ".....	900
8th " ".....	1027	41st " " *battalion	294
9th " ".....	1090	1st Cavalry, 3 yrs.....	1478
10th " ".....	1027	2d " ".....	1394
11th " ".....	1022	3d " ".....	1360
12th " ".....	981	4th " ".....	1227
13th " ".....	989	5th " ".....	1245
14th " ".....	840	6th " ".....	1125
15th " ".....	1196	7th " ".....	562
16th " ".....	919	8th " ".....	1234
17th " ".....	956	9th " ".....	1178
18th " ".....	875	*Sioux City Cavalry, 3 yrs...	93
19th " ".....	985	Co. A 11th Penn. Cavalry 3 yrs	87
20th " ".....	925	1st Battery, 3 yrs.....	149
21st " ".....	980	2d " ".....	123
22d " ".....	1008	3d " ".....	142
23d " ".....	961	4th " ".....	152
24th " ".....	979	1st Iowa African Inf. or 60th	
25th " ".....	995	U. S.....	903
26th " ".....	919	Dodge's Brigade Band.....	14
27th " ".....	940	Band of 2d Iowa Infantry...	10
28th " ".....	956	44th Infantry, 100 days....	867
29th " ".....	1005	45th " ".....	912
30th " ".....	978	46th " ".....	892
31st " ".....	977	47th " ".....	884
32d " ".....	925	48th (battalion) ".....	346
33d " ".....	985		
		Total.....	56,344

Enlistments as far as reported to January 1, 1864, for the older Iowa regiments	2,765
Enlistments of Iowa men in regiments of other states.....	2,500
Re-enlisted veterans for different regiments.....	7,202
Additional enlistments	6,664
Brought forward.....	56,344

Grand total men furnished..... 75,475

NOTE—The 42d and 43d regiments of Infantry were ordered raised and numbers assigned (42 and 43) but they were never filled. Those (few) enrolled for these numbers were distributed as recruits among old regiments.

*Afterwards consolidated with 7th Cavalry.

General summary of casualties in the Union forces during the operation against Vicksburg, May 1 to July 4, 1863, as shown by the Official Records:

The aggregate loss, including the battles of Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, Black River, Milliken's Bend, and Vicksburg, and numerous skirmishes in the meantime, was 10,014.

Summary of the casualties of Confederate forces in the Vicksburg campaign, as shown by the Official Records:

Port Gibson, Smith's and Stevenson's divisions	832
Raymond.....	514
Jackson, May 14	845
Champion's Hill	3,624
Black River Bridge.....	1,024
Vicksburg (Baldwin, Vaughn and Dockery not reporting).....	2,872
Milliken's Bend.....	725
Partial report of Baldwin and Vaughn.....	40
Total.....	10,476
Federal loss	10,014
Excess of Confederate loss.....	462
Surrendered at Vicksburg	29,491
Captured by expeditionary armies.....	1,147
Killed, wounded and missing (as above).....	10,476
Total Confederate loss.....	41,114

Add to this those not reported and those who died in hospitals before paroling could be completed, and those who escaped or concealed themselves, together with the stragglers, and one can readily reconcile the numbers with those given by Gen. Badeau.*

*Official Records, Vol. 24, Part I, page 58.

IN A word, we may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal, by the comparison and application of other men's forepassed miseries with our own like errors and ill-deservings.—*Sir Walter Raleigh.*

THE PRESERVATION OF IOWA'S PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

BY FRANK I. HERRIOTT, PH. D.

We appreciate a thing most when we come seriously to want it and then learn that although once obtainable in abundance it can not be had for love or great price. Not long is it going to be before the people of Iowa, or rather the reading public, students and investigators, realize with surprise and unspeakable regret the force of this observation as regards the documentary records of the State.

It is no less astonishing than it is shameful, yet it is unquestionably true that, with the possible exception of the library of the State Historical Society at Iowa City there is not a library in Iowa that has a complete set of all our printed State records or public documents. The State Library does not possess them, nor does the Historical Library. But what is worse and most deplorable is the fact that these records, many of them, especially the earlier ones and not a few of those of later years, are not in our State document room, and it is difficult to secure them elsewhere even with the assistance of collectors of rare books, who charge us handsome prices for obtaining them. It is with chagrin that Iowa scholars are compelled to admit that in Madison, in the Wisconsin Historical Library, there are more complete files of some of our State records than we can boast of here in Iowa.

But stranger still, there is not an office or department in the capitol of Iowa, whose history dates back thirty years, that possesses a complete file of its printed reports to the governor or to the legislature. The Treasurer's department has a bound volume containing his reports as far back as 1856, but of few, if any, other departments can as much be said. Governor C. C. Carpenter's message in 1876 can no longer be obtained. In fact, all of the legislative documents of that year are gone.

It cannot be said that we have not been forewarned and repeatedly urged to take suitable measures to preserve our public documents. But the anxiety of the student and investigator, who especially appreciates the inestimable value of original public records, counts for little with a busy public that usually can see only waste paper in an old House or Senate journal or committee report that may be covered with the dust and mould of a fifty years' sojourn in an attic or cellar.

In 1858, three Commissioners appointed by Governor Ralph P. Lowe under the Act of 1858 (Ch. 160, 7th G. A.), made a searching investigation of the files and the methods, work and accounts of the several State offices and reported their findings to the governor, June 1, 1858. The chairman of that commission and the author, no doubt, of the report was no less a person than our distinguished diplomat and scholar, Hon. John A. Kasson, who has always shown his keen appreciation of the value of historical data and documentary sources and the best means for their preservation. Reporting upon the results of their investigations in the governor's office the committee said:

No papers or records of the Executives of the Territorial Government are now to be found in the possession of the State Government. None of the papers or records of the Governors of the State prior to Governor Grimes, now remain in the possession of the State, so far as we can ascertain. The correspondence of this office during the term of Governor Grimes, has been preserved; but no other papers of his term, nor books, are found in the office.

Governor Lowe has instituted efforts, which promise to be successful, to obtain the official letters and papers of Governors Lucas and Clarke, and at least a part of Governor Chambers, of the Territory. It is expected that these will contain important facts respecting the Missouri boundary question, arising from which this State has a claim on the General Government. It is not known that any other executive papers can now be recovered.*

*Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate the several State offices for the years 1858 and 1859, pp 7-8.

A part of the correspondence of the territorial governors, referred to by the commissioners in 1858, was recently recovered from the files of the General Land Office, at Washington, as a result of the efforts of the Curator of the Historical Library, Mr. Charles Aldrich, with the assistance of Iowa's congressional delegation.

After making some specific recommendations as to the preservation of the records of the executive actions and official papers, the committee continues:

. . . We have elsewhere referred to the need, in other State offices, of a volume of records of reports made by those officers to the General Assembly or to the Governor. The same necessity exists in this office for a manuscript record, well indexed by subjects, of all Executive Proclamations, and communications to the General Assembly. With the lapse of time, the printed copies may be lost: they are even now obtained with difficulty for the earlier periods of our brief history as a State and Territory.*

The effect of that report, in which facts no matter how disagreeable they might be, were unflinchingly reported and conditions were described without reservation, had a beneficial effect that was immediately perceptible. Many of the officials acted upon the recommendations and took greater precautions to preserve systematically the records of their acts. In the next general assembly a resolution was introduced by Mr. D. D. Sabin, of Mitchell county, February 9, 1860, and adopted, calling for an investigation of the means then available for preserving public records, especially as against fire. On February 18, Mr. S. B. Rosenkrans, of Hamilton county, reported upon the matter, declaring the provisions inadequate for preserving the State's original and printed records, and "further protection imperatively demanded."† The result was the introduction of a bill for "An Act providing greater safety for books, papers and records belonging to the State," in the house of representatives, March 9, 1860. It provided for the erection on Capitol square of a building with "fire proof" vaults; but the legislature appropriated only \$3,500 for the structure. The bill passed and was approved by Governor Kirkwood April 13, 1860.‡

To students of origins and beginnings of institutions it is an interesting fact that the author of the original resolution that led up to the act referred to above was not its formal

*Ibid, p. 8.

†House Journal, 1860, p. 263.

‡Laws of 1860, Ch. 96.

introducer, but the then clerk of the House, who has since become well known for his interests and energetic labors along the same lines indicated in the resolution he drafted nearly forty-two years ago. To his indefatigable labors and generous donations the people of Iowa are indebted for the Aldrich Collection, and because of his industry, tact and perseverance, despite heavy odds, the State can now congratulate herself on the establishment and construction of the present Historical Library, of which he is appropriately the Curator.

Unfortunately the legislature in 1860 was parsimonious and short-sighted in appropriating so small an amount for the "Warehouse," as it was designated. A building for the safe-keeping of the State's records and documents that could be constructed within the limits of the appropriation could be neither safe nor adequate. A wooden frame veneered with brick was built. On the night of November 7, 1884, the warehouse, with its "fire-proof vaults," and the most of a considerable collection of public documents stored within, was destroyed by fire.

Besides that untoward event there occurred a wholesale destruction of State reports that some day will be recited with amazement by librarians deprived of valuable documents and annoyed by the incompleteness of their collections. Although many years ago, the transaction took place within the memory of men now living. The old warehouse became overstocked. Or, rather, the old capitol became crowded; more office room was needed; and it was acquired by poaching on the space of the warehouse. The matter of interest here is that various and sundry in authority came to the conclusion that the most of the documents, at least those of earlier years, stored in the building, especially constructed for their preservation, were simply so much "junk" and were better carted out. So decidedly were they of this opinion that, no one offering to buy them as waste paper, they had a man take them out, leaving a small number of each report on

the shelves for any one who might possibly call for them. It required more than two weeks for the man and his cart or wagon to get the documents out and load them in cars for shipment. Several cars were filled. One of the writer's informants, both witnesses of the transaction, told him that the party doing the job realized a handsome return for his labors in the sale of the documents.

Giving some reminiscences at the second reunion of the Pioneer Law-Maker's Association, in 1890, Hon. C. C. Nourse related his experiences in securing materials relating to the early history of the State in the course of the preparation of his historical address on behalf of the State of Iowa at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, in 1876. Among other things he said:

. . . I want to say here in this connection with that resolution [viz: one urging the legislature to collect and preserve documents and early State records] that was adopted, when you go to find something of the early history of Iowa, and something of the archives of Iowa, do not go to the State Library. You will find in the old capitol building, a dark room in the basement that is full of old papers from the ceiling to the floor, packed away in store boxes, mouldy and full of dust, [and] in pigeon holes. The State of Iowa ought to send some person into that dark hole, if it is there yet full of those papers, to sort out and save whatever is valuable in that subterranean treasury, and probably you will find the Journal of that convention there. [Constitutional Convention of 1846.] I have found some valuable matters in time past. I simply go to the janitor of the building when I want to find out anything there.*

The completion of the capitol in 1884 gave the State more room and a safe store-house for the annual output of official reports and public records. The inauguration of the Historical Department, in 1892, has since wrought great changes in public sentiment and practice respecting the preservation of records of the State's history. But there still prevails a practice in the distribution or disposal of our State reports that has been almost as deplorable in its results as the fire in 1884.

*Proceedings and Papers of the Second Reunion of the Pioneer Law-Makers of Iowa, at Des Moines, February 27-29, 1890, pp. 77-78.

It has long been the custom to ship out all, or as many as possible, of the reports, as fast as possible. "Get rid of them," seems to be the motto. For years past, during the annual State Fairs, or at times when the capitol is crowded with visiting excursionists, one would almost invariably come across piles of documents at various places in the basement corridors with placards thereon with the invitation in bold and staring letters, "HELP YOURSELF!" School children have been seen on the streets of the capital city indulging in sham battles with Iowa documents as missiles of offense and defense. For days thereafter the winds would whisk about the leaves and labels, covers and wrappings, of books destroyed in the melees. A waste, an utter and senseless waste of documents that will be worth, if they are not already worth, their weight in gold to the host of libraries now coming into existence in Iowa.

In defence of such extravagant distribution it will be said that there is not room enough in the basement store rooms of the capitol to keep the annual accumulations of documents. This is more or less true, although the fact does not fully justify the reckless waste of the past. The basement rooms are obviously not adapted for storage rooms and never were so intended. The State's public documents should be placed in a warehouse especially constructed for their reception and storage. Such a building could properly be a part of a Hall of Archives, a matter to be dealt with later.

With the exception of the laws and supreme court reports, and now and then an especially noteworthy document, it has never been the practice of the State Library to have set apart a certain number or proportion of each report published to be reserved entirely for the use of the library in effecting exchanges and assisting other and newly founded libraries in completing their collections. It usually takes ten to twenty years for the managements of new libraries, or their patrons, to learn to appreciate the great importance of public documents. During such time the State Library should act *in*

loco parentis and preserve for them valuable records that otherwise would be lost for most of them. It is not unreasonable to assume that the world, and the State of Iowa in particular, are likely to continue for the next hundred years or more, and we should act in the interim with a view to the needs of the teeming cities and towns of our commonwealth.

If it were made a statutory duty that certain reservations of our State documents be made as suggested and placed under the control of the State Library it would not be long before the law would prove to be an inestimable boon to our young and growing libraries. The past decade has seen a great increase in the number of libraries in Iowa. In 1885 we had 47; in 1895 the number had increased to 153; and in 1900 there were 204 reported. Under the impulse given the library movement since the enactment of the law providing for the present Library Commission, the day is not far distant when the vast majority of our towns and cities will have public libraries and the demand for the completion of sets of our State documents will be urgent, but alack for the most part without avail. Take such a recent publication as the "Official Register." None of the earlier numbers can be obtained except from the second-hand book dealers. Just recently the public has learned that the entire edition of the issue of 1901 has been exhausted.*

*Since the above was written the secretary of the State Library Commission, Miss Alice S. Tyler, has issued "Leaflet No. 2," directing the attention of the librarians of the State, and of those interested in the establishment and equipping of libraries, to various sources of information relative to the history of Iowa, among others, various State publications. She especially urges the early acquisition of these valuable sources or the completion of their files. For the use of librarians there is contemplated, she informs me, a printed check list of all Iowa documents now obtainable. All this means that the libraries of Iowa are soon going to be searching far and wide for the volumes necessary to complete their files, which, but for the senseless waste of them in the past, they would be able for the most part to secure without difficulty or expense.

As a part of its work in promoting libraries the commission receives and distributes files of the current magazines, acting in this way as a sort of clearing house for the libraries and book clubs of the State. If Iowa documents were included in these exchanges many rare and valuable reports could be easily recovered and many libraries would be enabled to complete their files or effect valuable exchanges. In every town and city of the State there may be found numbers of State documents, the possessors of which may or may not appreciate, who, if the matter were properly presented, no doubt would give them to the secretary of the commission for the purposes here suggested.

The rapid exhaustion, waste, and complete loss of so much of our valuable material in the writing of Iowa's history, and the growing demand for the reproduction of much of that original data, make most timely and important the various measures already taken, or urged, to reprint the early laws of the Territory and State and the messages and official papers of the governors. In his second biennial message to the legislature, in January, 1890, Governor William Larrabee advocated the reprinting of the early laws, urging the matter in the following words:

The statutes of the Territory of Iowa, which are now out of print, ought to be compiled and republished, together with those of the territories of Michigan and Wisconsin affecting Iowa. The acts of the first and fifth, and perhaps of some other early general assemblies, are also becoming very scarce, and might be reprinted with advantage. (p. 59.)

Governor Larrabee's suggestion was not acted upon until 1895, when the State Historical Society began, under the editorship of Professor B. F. Shambaugh of the university, the reprinting of selected laws and documents illustrative of early Iowa history. His admirable series is intended primarily for class-room use, and for those who want the chief or most important documentary materials of the early history of Iowa. For those, however, who wish to make exhaustive original researches the entire body of Territorial laws and early State laws should be reprinted and made available for use in every public library in Iowa. A beginning has been made. Last year the Historical Department, under the direction of Curator Charles Aldrich, reprinted all of the laws adopted at the first session of the Iowa territorial legislature of 1838-1839. It is most devoutly to be wished that this is but the beginning of a series of reprints that will include not only those urged by Governor Larrabee, but the Indian treaties affecting Iowa, the letters and papers of the territorial governors, the journals of the first two constitutional conventions and a score of other rare and invaluable documents that constitute the chief sources of our information respecting the beginnings of our State's history.

If the reasons for the preservation of the State's printed records are worthy of our attention, the reasons for the preservation of the official records and papers of the State are imperatively urgent. As Mr. Kasson and his associates pointed out in 1858, it is very important to keep complete records of official transactions and papers, and so far as practicable to keep these records in the form of permanent record books. But such records are not to be discarded or destroyed the moment they pass out of daily or current use. It is just as important to provide for their safe-keeping and permanent preservation. One would think there should exist no need for insistence upon such elemental truths. There is, nevertheless, need of constant emphasis being placed on them. The present facilities for keeping the precious papers and archives of the State of Iowa are very meagre, and some of the methods heretofore pursued are somewhat inadequate.

The leading executive departments are now crowded for office space in the capitol. Not all of the offices possess vaults in which books and papers can be kept safe from fire or theft. This is true of the offices of the adjutant general, attorney general, secretary of the executive council, and to a large extent of the board of control. Their books and papers are packed away on open shelves or in back rooms. The vaults in many instances are full to overflowing. Papers and files are already "jammed" together to gain space. This is especially true in the offices of the secretary of state, auditor, and treasurer of state. With the rapidly accumulating mass of original papers it will not be long before there will be inextricable confusion of valuable papers and more or less loss resulting. As it is the State's archives are not always carefully and systematically catalogued, classified and thus made easily accessible. Those of recent years are, of course, obtainable without much labor; but those of earlier periods usually require a hunt of considerable duration and success may or may not attend the result.

With the changing administrations and the practice of

rotation in the clerical forces that have practical charge of the arrangement of the State's archives for reference and safe-keeping, there is not always assured the utmost appreciation of the value of the State's records, either recent or ancient. They are sometimes regarded as so much lumber, and now and then treated as such. A few years ago a person in search of some information from official sources was permitted to go into the vault of the office having charge of the records he desired. He found the archives of that important office—not on the shelves properly arranged, but in an indiscriminate heap on the floor of the vault! There in confusion and neglect lay a mass of original records of the State government of Iowa covering forty years or more of her history. All sorts and sizes of record books relating to various classes of important matters of the State's business made up the heap. Covers of some of the books had been half torn off, or badly wrenched, and leaves were wrinkled, crushed and torn. The visitor asked the clerk who was assisting in searching for the desired books how long they had been left in that condition, and he replied, "Three months or so. Some men making an examination here awhile back tossed things about this way and no one has taken the trouble since to put them on the shelves, where they ought to be."

Such gross neglect of valuable records is exceptional, of course, yet to a greater or less extent the State of Iowa permits and in a way encourages precisely this sort of indifference respecting the preservation of her archives, since no suitable place is provided for them.

Persons seeking historical data or information bearing upon some claim or legal controversy, which can be obtained only from original official records, should be able to get what they seek without inconvenience or long delay. They should be able to obtain on call the original of any legislative bill or of any report of any legislative committee, with all papers and documents pertaining thereto, introduced in either the house or senate of the general assembly since Iowa became

a State. But it is very doubtful if such is possible for many years back. In some recent researches the writer learned, much to his regret, that the original of an important house bill, introduced in 1870, had not been preserved.

With the present inadequate facilities for preserving the original documents of the State these conditions are not going to improve. From the nature of the case they are bound to get worse. The accumulations are augmenting much more rapidly in these days than was the case twenty-five years ago. The volume of work in each office has increased and there has been a marked increase in the number of offices in the capitol. Take, for instance, the offices of the board of control and of the treasurer of state. In the offices of the board is now done the work formerly done at thirteen State institutions, with much in addition, with an elaborate system of accounting for each several transaction. But besides the records and files of their own separate work there is kept a complete set of records, in duplicate, of the books in use at the various institutions under the board. The volume of work in their offices is immense, and the piling up of records and papers will very soon outgrow their present vault room. The same is to be said of the treasurer's office. The board of control act and the various acts relative to the taxation of collateral inheritances have increased a hundred fold the volume of business in that department, and to take care of his books and papers the treasurer has almost, if not quite, the poorest vault in the capitol. It is a mere "cubby hole." So many records are now in daily use in the department that two years ago it was found impracticable to keep them in the vault and a large steel book-rack with steel curtain cover was purchased and set up in the main office in which to keep them from fire and molestation. He has a large assortment of old receipt and check stubs, covering the transactions of twenty-five to forty years, that he can only pile up like so much cordwood on the topmost shelf of the vault. Should one of these stubs be called for it requires no little disagreeable labor,

high up on a ladder, in the hot, musty air at the top of the vault, to secure the record desired.

The present capitol building is generally assumed to be fireproof, and such, for the most part, is the case; yet the risks of losses of records and documents from fire are very considerable. The furnishings of many of the offices are in wood, and the record and file cases are made of wood. About a year ago this winter, late one night, a fire was discovered in the office of the secretary of the executive council, fortunately in time to prevent any damage; but had it got under headway the records of the council for a quarter of a century would have been lost or practically ruined by water. All of the military records of the adjutant general's office are kept in wooden cases. In 1895 a fire, that started from a collection of cast-off oiled rags, destroyed the back of the case containing all of the muster rolls of our Iowa troops during the civil war. The fire was discovered before it reached the files in the case, but for the merest luck, a very valuable and indispensable collection of the State's archives would have been lost.

This state of affairs is a matter for serious consideration by the legislature. The suggestion, some time since made in these pages,* and in the recent report of the curator of the Historical Library, that there is need of the erection of a "Hall of Archives," is most timely. For it is only in a building, especially constructed for their reception and storage, that official records can be suitably provided for, where they can be thoroughly classified, labeled, numbered, catalogued, or indexed and filed away in systematic fashion, year after year, safe from fire, theft or negligent care, and at all times easily accessible to any in search of original sources.

It is not alone the historical student and investigator who is interested in the preservation of original documentary records. Every lawyer and every litigant in the State, every man and woman who, in the future, may be involved in liti-

*See ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol V, p. 66.

gation to protect or secure their rights, every taxpayer, have a vital interest in their maintenance and security. Life, liberty, reputation, property, when in question may rest entirely upon the authenticity and accessibility of official records. If official records are insufficient or undiscoverable, courts may resort to collateral evidence, namely, contemporary or antecedent records, for information upon which to base their conclusions respecting contested matters.* If, therefore, constant care is not exercised on the part of the State's officers to secure and keep intact and safe from fire, dampness, decomposition, or theft, all official records and related documentary materials, individuals and corporate bodies, private and public, may suffer serious deprivation because rights assumed or claimed can not be substantiated for lack of the original records. Innumerable instances might be given. Two interesting illustrations will suffice.

From 1872 to 1874 the State of Iowa had a commission to investigate the numerous contested claims to land titles in the Des Moines river valley. The commission examined into hundreds of claims, took an immense amount of testimony, all of which they filed with their report to Governor C. C. Carpenter in 1873. One of the members of that commission informs me that he has since received many inquiries asking for transcripts of some of the evidence collected at that time for use in legal controversies, but that the papers filed with the reports have disappeared from the office where they were deposited; at least, he has never been able to get at them if perchance they are stored away in some nook or "cubby hole" of the capitol.

At this very time, Hon. J. S. Lothrop, of Sioux City, late State Senator from Woodbury county, is prosecuting an investigation that affords striking confirmation of what has just been said respecting the vital importance of preserving the State's archives. Senator Lothrop believes that the State of

*See the case of *Allen vs. Clayton*, decided by the Supreme Court of Iowa in 1884, Iowa Reports, vol. 63, p. 11.

Iowa has a substantial claim against the national government for accrued interest on the funds advanced by Iowa during the civil war in equipping troops for the government and sending them to the front earlier than otherwise they could have been. Iowa advanced large amounts to assist in that work, borrowing \$300,000 and in still other ways extending her credit to the nation. Repayment of the principal of her outlay, although ultimately made, was long delayed and the State was never reimbursed for the interest she paid out on her loans and the other sums advanced. In making his researches for evidence on which to rest his claim, Senator Lothrop experienced some difficulty in obtaining the official records during some portions of the period he was investigating. Prior to 1863 many of the records in both the auditor's and treasurer's offices are missing. The point to be noted here is that the inquiry he has made may mean several hundred thousand dollars to our State treasury. Recent decisions of the court of claims at Washington respecting the claims of other states similarly urged have been adjudged favorably to the claimants. But the State of Iowa must rest her claim upon old and musty records, not always carefully kept. If success attends Senator Lothrop's quest, the State will realize nearly enough to build a Hall of Archives comparable in architectural dimensions and attractiveness with the plan of the Historical Library. This financial phase of the preservation of archives should lessen the size of the obstacle which no doubt looms large in the minds of taxpayers and their representatives, when the erection of such a building is urged.

THE IDOL of to-day pushes the hero of yesterday out of our recollection, and will in time be supplanted by his successor of to-morrow.—*Washington Irving.*



THE INDIAN CHIEF KEOKUK—"THE WATCHFUL FOX."

This half-tone portrait is from a daguerrotype taken in 1847, when the great chief was 67 years of age. THE ANNALS copies it from a photograph from the original, kindly furnished by Dr. J. M. Shaffer of the city of Keokuk. This has been generally accepted by historical writers as a faithful likeness of that celebrated Iowa Chief.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

COLONEL KINSMAN.

Since the civil war few men of his rank have been so well remembered in this State as Colonel William H. Kinsman. True, he was a brave, impulsive and most efficient soldier, who was killed in battle; but this might be said of many others who were quite his equals, but of whom the general recollection is growing dim with the flight of years. His name has lived while "the mould is gathering upon the memories" of so many others. In addition, however, to his high, manly, and soldierly qualities, he was most fortunate in other respects. He was the idol of two famous regiments, the Fourth and the Twenty-third Infantry, the survivors of which may be found in many Iowa counties, and an officer whose characteristics gave him a warm place in the affections of his men. He stood high in the regard of Gen. G. M. Dodge, with whom he was upon terms of close friendship in private life before the war. The friendship of Gen. Dodge greatly aided Kinsman in the early days of his military service, though he possessed the elements which make up the dashing soldier. He would have won higher promotion had his life been spared.

In the pages of this number of THE ANNALS Gen. Dodge gives to history his recollections of his friend and fellow soldier, paying a generous tribute to his many high qualities. This article was written nearly a year ago, long before the recovery of Col. Kinsman's remains. Gen. Dodge sometime since determined that the remains of the gallant soldier should be brought home to Council Bluffs for final burial, with such honors as people so spontaneously pay to the illustrious dead. Two expeditions were set on foot by him and carried through at his expense. The last was successful and the

grave was located by men who had helped bury the soldier, and his remains were sent home. Upon their receipt at Council Bluffs, Gen. Dodge published the following open letter to his old comrades in arms. It explains itself:

TO MY COMRADES.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA, Nov. 26, 1901.

To My Comrades of the Fourth and Twenty-third Iowa Infantry:

The remains of W. H. Kinsman of Council Bluffs, Iowa, who was a lieutenant and captain in Company B, Fourth Iowa Infantry, and lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, have been recovered by Lieut. J. A. Straight and Jesse Truitt of the Twenty-third Iowa, and are now deposited in a vault in Fairview cemetery in this city.

It is intended to erect a suitable monument to his memory, and it is my wish that every living comrade of the two regiments in which he so gallantly served, should have an opportunity to aid in the erection of the monument, no matter how small the amount. The names of every one of you should appear in honoring the memory of your comrade and commander, and you should also be present at the unveiling of the monument, May 17, 1902.

As the contract for the monument must be made immediately, in order to have it completed in time, your donation should be prompt and forwarded to E. J. Abbott, adjutant, Abe Lincoln Post, G. A. R., Council Bluffs, Iowa. The comrades who see this are requested to inform all comrades of their acquaintance in either regiment.

GENEVILLE M. DODGE.

THE ANNALS of July next will no doubt present some account of the final tribute to the memory of Col. Kinsman, including the dedication of the monument, to pay for which his old comrades in arms are now sending in their contributions.

After the foregoing article was prepared, we received from Gen. G. M. Dodge, copied by a friend, the following item from the genealogical record of the Kinsman family:

William Henry, son of Theodorus Kinsman, born July 11, 1832, graduated from Claverack Academy in Claverack, Columbia county, N. Y., about 1857, studied law. When the war broke out joined the army, rose to the rank of colonel of the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, and fell in battle near Vicksburg, Miss., May 17, 1863, in Grant's army.

JUSTICE TO MR. COFFIN.

We believe it must be known to every intelligent reader that the movement to require the railroad companies throughout the United States to furnish their cars with safety appliances to prevent the maiming and killing of their brakemen, origin-

ated with Hon. Lorenzo S. Coffin of Webster county, Iowa. We mention this matter just now for the purpose of stating that other parties are claiming the credit of this great undertaking. This is not to be wondered at, for it is seldom, indeed, that any genuine reform comes to its fruition without a like result. There are always "claimants" of the credit of every good work, whether it be the writing of an immortal poem or the initiation of a great measure of reform. Mr. Coffin, the pioneer in this movement, seems unlikely to escape the common fate of all true reformers. But hundreds, if not thousands, of the people of this and other states, are still living to testify to his earnest and self-sacrificing work from the very start, in securing the adoption of this life-saving law. How he presented it to the Iowa and other state legislatures, and to the congress of the United States, is yet within the public memory. He had to meet and overcome a thousand objections, all of which were less than fanciful when weighed in the scale against human lives. Aside from all this he was stigmatized as a "crank," "a half crazy enthusiast," with divers other choice epithets from the same general category of denunciation. But he steadfastly persevered, braving and surmounting every obstacle, laboring with law-makers everywhere, discussing the measure on the rostrum and in the newspapers, until he won a success which has made his name illustrious. And now, various men here and there, are claiming that they initiated the movement. We have written these lines in justice to Mr. Coffin, with whom the writer has had a personal acquaintance of more than forty years, and with an earnest wish to aid in giving a good man the permanent credit so justly his due. It is to be hoped that he will write a history of the measure and tell the coming generations how it came to its abiding-place in the general legislation of the country.

No sooner had Mr. Coffin secured the adoption of appliances for saving the lives of railroad employes than he projected another enterprise which must also appeal to the sym-

pathies of all humane and Christian people. This is a home—consisting of a beautiful 80-acre farm and comfortable buildings—for discharged convicts from our penitentiaries, a temporary resting-place, where they can safely abide until permanent employment can be secured for them. A condition can scarcely be imagined more forlorn than that of a convict during the first few weeks succeeding his discharge from a term of imprisonment. He is an object of universal distrust, and it is little wonder that so many of them, failing to obtain employment, keep on the down grade and again bring up in the penitentiary. Mr. Coffin's plan contemplates welcoming them to this pleasant home, where light employment can be had, and where, under the influence of Christian teaching they can be aided and encouraged to lead better lives—in short, “to be saved to themselves and the State.” At this writing the building is enclosed and on the way to completion. It will doubtless be ready for its good work early in the spring. There are many details relating to this undertaking, which we have no space to recount, but it is so far advanced that its success is assured. In fact, Mr. Coffin never takes a backward step in any good work. We understand that many convicts in our penitentiaries, whose terms will expire the present year, are already looking ahead with high hopes of finding a resting-place and encouragement until they can make a new start in life from the home so wisely and generously provided for them by Mr. Coffin. This place of rest is near his own home—in fact, a part of his celebrated Willow-Edge Farm.

CHARACTERISTIC LETTER BY GOV. KIRKWOOD.

The original copy of the following letter was recently presented to the State Historical Department by Mr. H. W. Lathrop, author of the “Life and Times” of our late War Governor. It has been published heretofore, and possibly

more than once. It was written to his nephew, Samuel Kirkwood Clark, son of Hon. Ezekiel Clark, who "went to live with his uncle almost from the time of leaving his cradle." The young man enlisted November, 1861, in the 4th Iowa Cavalry, but was afterwards promoted to first lieutenant and adjutant of the 25th Iowa Infantry. He received a mortal wound at the battle of Arkansas Post, Jan. 11, 1863, from which he died on the 20th of February. It is one of the excellent, fatherly letters written by the illustrious War Governor to the boy, full of sensible advice to its recipient, and boys of these later times may well profit by the sensible advice it contains. It is with pleasure that we transfer it to the pages of THE ANNALS:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }
DES MOINES, IOWA, Jan. 29, 1860. }

Dear Kirk: I have been so busy that I have not found time to write you until to-day. I do not want you to fail to write to me because I do not answer all your letters. One object for wishing you to write to me is to have you improve in writing by practice.

When your father was here he related to me a conversation he had had with your teacher which gave me great pleasure. Your teacher says you are well behaved and gentlemanly in your deportment as a scholar, diligent and attentive as a student, of clear head and strong mind, and that you occupy, to a great extent, the position of leader among your fellow students.

You can hardly understand how much I was gratified to hear this, because I think you cannot understand the kind and extent of the interest I feel in your progress in life and your welfare. The character given you by your teacher goes far towards making up the character of the true man.

Allow me to give you a word of warning. If it be so that you occupy, to some extent, the position of leader or umpire among your fellows, that position has not only its pleasures and advantages, but its dangers and difficulties. You must not allow yourself to become proud and overbearing. You must not use your position to put down any one who is weaker than yourself, either mentally or physically, but rather to support and defend such—in short, you must use your influence to see that "the right" is done at all times and under all circumstances, and you must not allow anything to make you flinch from seeing it done. You must not be quarrelsome. Avoid all personal difficulties, if possible, but if compelled to engage in such, then so bear yourself that your adversary will not wish to come in contact with you again. No man is fit to control others who cannot control himself.

Will you allow me to say a few words to you about smoking. I don't

intend to scold. You are too old to be scolded. You are old enough to be argued with—in short, you are in feeling, if not in years, a man. Your Aunt Jane [Mrs. Kirkwood] has scolded you for smoking. She made a mistake in so doing, but you should not feel angry with her so doing, because in what she did she acted for what she thought your good. She has borne much for and from you. You should bear much for and from her. I do not intend to scold you about smoking. I do not intend to ask you to quit smoking as a personal favor to myself, because this might look like trying to use a personal influence with you. I intend merely to reason the matter with you. A perfect man, aside from all questions of religion and morals, is a man who has a sound mind in a sound body. Now, smoking injures both mental and physical health, weakens both mind and body. Examine and see if this is not so. Talk with medical men and those who are not medical, on the subject; read books that treat of it; then if you find the facts to be as I have stated, determine what you should do. Have you not the courage to do what is right and necessary for your health? The habit with you is new and therefore more easily broken. Think of all this and write me what you think.

I send you a copy of my inaugural address. It is praised by some of my party friends and denounced by some of my party enemies. You are neither one or the other. Write me just what you think about it. Write me what you think about all these things. Take your time to do so, half a dozen evenings if necessary, and a half a dozen sheets of paper, if necessary. I will read it all. You are at entire liberty to show this to your father, if you want to talk about it with him, and I think it would be well for you to do so. He may help you to read it; perhaps his help may be necessary.

Very truly, your friend and affectionate uncle,

S. J. KIRKWOOD.

ANOTHER PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR KIRKWOOD.

Mrs. Catharine M. Adams who resides three or four miles southwest of the capitol, has presented to the Historical Department an oil portrait of Gov. Samuel J. Kirkwood, painted by her uncle, Marshall Talbot, an artist who resided in Des Moines during the civil war. In the opinions of most people who knew the war governor, it is an excellent likeness of him at that time. It has been varnished and otherwise put in repair, without, however, changing the work of the artist in any respect. There has been no attempt at "restoration." We consider this painting a valuable acquisition to the treasures of the State Historical Art Gallery.

The Editor of THE ANNALS has repeatedly urged the friends of Mr. Talbot to furnish a sketch of his life for these pages, but unsuccessfully up to this time. The writer saw him on many occasions and heard and read much concerning him. He was an active, local politician—a prominent figure at caucuses and conventions. As an artist, opinions were quite diverse. His friends regarded him as a neglected genius. That he was a man of ability is sufficiently evidenced by his illustrated contributions to *Harper's Magazine*. His eccentricity is shown by the fact that when near his end he wished to be "buried" in a tree, after the fashion of the Sioux Indians. He lived, it is said, in chronic fear of premature burial. His death occurred at Polk City about the year 1878.

LEAVING THE STATE.

Intelligence reached us last month that Henry W. Lathrop, a resident of Iowa City for more than forty years, had removed to Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Mr. Lathrop is now far advanced in life, being near his 80th birthday. He will live with a married daughter who resides at the place whither he has gone to spend his remaining days. Mr. Lathrop has been a most useful citizen in many ways. The first we heard of him he was one of the reporters for the daily press in the convention (1857) which framed the present constitution of our State. His portrait appears among those connected with the deliberations of that body. Since those days he has written much for the newspaper press, though residing for the most part on his beautiful farm on the west side of the river opposite Iowa City. He has, however, been more conspicuously known through his life of Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, and his various writings for *The Iowa Historical Record*. For many years he took quite a conspicuous part in the deliberations of the State Horticultural Society. His writings, largely records of what has passed under his own observation, will thus have a permanent place in the publications of his times, and become matters of reference in coming years. His life has been a praiseworthy one. And now it is but natural that he should choose to spend his declining years with his own kindred, even though he leaves the State he loves so well. The men of his day—Samuel J. Kirkwood, T. S. Parvin, Samuel Trowbridge, Robert Lucas, M. W. Davis, W. F. Coolbaugh, Ezekiel Clark, and scores of others who might be named—are mostly dead, or like himself well stricken in years. Mr. Lathrop always had a friendly regard for THE ANNALS and the Historical Department. In fact, when the rooms were first opened in

the basement story of the capitol, on the morning of July 1, 1892, without as yet a chair or other piece of furniture, he was one of three men who passed in to survey the vacant rooms. Since that time he has been a valued contributor to this work.

As we are closing these pages we learn also with regret that another beloved pioneer citizen, the Honorable A. B. F. Hildreth, of Charles City, has removed to Boston, Mass., where he is likely to spend his remaining days. He also is an octogenarian. Mr. Hildreth was the pioneer journalist of Charles City, having founded his paper, *The Intelligencer*, at that place in 1856. He is the oldest living Iowa journalist in all that part of the State north of Des Moines. In the old days that was the finest looking weekly paper in Iowa. It was edited with taste and ability and on the right side of all questions of education and morals. Mr. Hildreth served on the State Board of Education in 1858-'62, and in the house of representatives of the 10th general assembly. He introduced in the Board of Education the subject of the co-education of the sexes in the State University, and advocated it ably and persistently until it became the law of the State. He was an exception to country editors of his time, from the fact that he acquired a handsome fortune. Among the treasures of the Historical Department of Iowa are a complete file of *The Charles City Intelligencer*, from the first number until it passed out of Mr. Hildreth's hands, and his portrait from the easel of Charles A. Cumming.

In thus recording the departure from our State of these esteemed pioneer citizens the writer takes occasion to express the hope that they may still be spared many happy years. They will live in the memory of our people as among the most esteemed of the makers of Iowa.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A LETTER FROM DR. CHARLES A. WHITE.

DEAR MR. ALDRICH: The compositor who set up my biographical sketch of Dr. W. H. Barris, in the last (October) number of *THE ANNALS* made me say, on page 219, second line from the bottom, that the good doctor was endowed by nature with a most "congenial" spirit, an error of syntax that I did not commit, as I there wrote "genial." I plead guilty, however, to having failed to detect that error when I read the proof, an oversight that is all the more grave because, in the case of my contributions to *THE ANNALS*, you have seldom, if ever, deemed it necessary to exercise your accustomed searching editorial revision of the final proofs.

In this connection it may be well to refer to another typographical error in the same issue of *THE ANNALS*, which occurs in the bottom line of page 225. It is there stated that Judge Charles Mason "settled in Burlington, Iowa, then in Michigan territory, in 1837." The error is apparent when it is remembered that the region which is now the State of Iowa was trans-

ferred from the jurisdiction of Michigan territory to that of Wisconsin territory in 1836, and that it became Iowa territory in 1838. Burlington was, therefore, in Wisconsin territory when Judge Mason settled there.

The occurrence of minor errors like these seems to be inevitable, even with the greatest vigilance; but while it is desirable to correct them, they cannot seriously impair the great and increasing value which all readers recognize in *THE ANNALS* under your rehabilitation and editorial management.

CHARLES A. WHITE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 15, 1901.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM GOV. KIRKWOOD.

MT. PLEASANT, IOWA, Oct. 15, 1901.

MY DEAR SIR: Some time since in looking over a bundle of old papers belonging to my father during his lifetime, I found the enclosed letter from Governor Kirkwood to Col. Cyrus Bussey. I have regarded it as containing matters of more than personal interest, and therefore send it to you, and if it has any value you may retain it in your collection.

The letter is read with a better understanding, when it is known that during the early days of the war, and the few years preceding the opening of the great conflict, Salem, in the south part of Henry county, and not far distant from the Missouri line, was an important station on the underground railroad, and escaping slaves often found harbor and sustenance there. By reason of such conditions there was, as I well remember, alarm felt during the early days of 1861, because of open threats of the Missourians that a raid would be made upon the village, and it was to protect against such that I assume the order contained in the letter was given. At the time this note was written my father was a resident of Salem and a member of the general assembly from Henry county, and I presume he secured from Governor Kirkwood this order to Col. Bussey in the interests of the community he represented. Yours very sincerely,

W. S. WITHBOW.

MR. CHARLES ALDRICH, Des Moines, Iowa.

COL. BUSSEY: If you possibly can do so, spare some arms to Salem. They are in daily fear of an attack, and as the rebels seem to have a proclivity in these days for destroying railroads, and Salem is a station on a leading road, there is some cause for fear.

Very truly,

July 27, 1861.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

RT. REV. THOMAS MATTHIAS LENIHAN was born at Dubuque, Iowa, May 12, 1845; he died at Marshalltown, Iowa, Dec. 16, 1901. He was educated for the priesthood at the Catholic schools at Bardstown, Ky., Cape Girardeau, Mo., and Milwaukee, Wis. After he was ordained he became pastor of St. Benedict's church at Decorah, Iowa, where he remained from 1868 to 1870. He went thence to Ft. Dodge, where he took charge of Corpus Christi church, and remained until he was appointed Bishop of Cheyenne. Immediately upon receiving his promotion he crossed the Atlantic and visited Rome. Some time later he spent more than a year in European travel, mainly on account of his health. On his return he went to his new field of labor, which did not prove a fortunate one. He had been suffering several years with some form of heart disease, which was further aggravated by the high altitude of Cheyenne. His rapid decline was attributed to this change. Bishop Lenihan was one of the ablest and most widely known missionary priests of the Middle West. Aside from his great learning he was a man of large executive ability and much force of character. Fortunate in the possession of engaging manners, he was quite as popular and influential with Protestants as with his own people. This was shown by his success in the erection of his splendid church in Ft. Dodge. He was able to induce people who were not Catholics to make liberal contributions toward the erection of the edifice, which, at that time, was one of the finest Catholic churches in Iowa. When he went to Ft. Dodge his parish extended far beyond the limits of Webster county, necessitating visits to many points throughout the northwestern quarter of the State. But gradually, as the country was settled, the territory was divided and subdivided, creating other parishes, until only Ft. Dodge and some portions of the adjacent farming country remained in his church. But he had done his work so well that very soon after he had left for Cheyenne, Archbishop Hennessy deemed it advisable to erect three parishes—much to the regret of the people—from the congregation of Corpus Christi. Bishop Lenihan's circle of friends was a wide one, including not only his large acquaintance in and outside of his church, in Iowa and Wyoming, but such eminent dignitaries as Cardinals Gibbons, Satolli and Martinelli, and Archbishops Ireland and Ryan. His brother, Rev. M. C. Lenihan, at whose home the Bishop died, is pastor of the Catholic church at Marshalltown, and his cousin, Rev. B. C. Lenehan, of the Church of the Sacred Heart at Boone. The family is well known throughout the State. The death of "Father Tom," as he was familiarly called a generation ago, was the occasion of profound and widespread regret.

WILLIAM FITCH CONRAD was born in Ithaca, N. Y., Nov. 7, 1826; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 20, 1901. His paternal grandfather was a soldier in the revolution, rising to the grade of major. Judge Conrad was educated at the Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y., and at the Wesleyan University at Middleton, Conn. He engaged awhile in teaching, meantime studying law. He came to Iowa and settled in Burlington in 1855. In August of that year he enlisted in the 25th Iowa Infantry, and was at once appointed sergeant-major. He rose to the rank of captain, his commission bearing the signature of Abraham Lincoln. He was captured by the Confederates at Raymond, Miss., May 24, 1863, and spent a year and a half in prison, including some time in the Libby at Richmond. He escaped at Columbia, S. C., and after walking 500 miles, evading bloodhounds and armed men, reached the Union lines at Knoxville, Tenn. Obtaining a leave of absence of 30 days, he came home to Iowa. But before his leave of absence expired he was ordered to Fort Snelling, Minn., where he remained

until the close of the war. He removed to Canton, Mo., in 1865, and began the practice of the law. In 1876 he returned to Iowa, settling in Des Moines, and engaged in the practice of his profession. Ten years later he was elected to the district bench where he served until his death. Judge Conrad's life had been an eventful one, deserving more space in its narration than we can devote to it at this time. His record as a man and a soldier is without blot or stain. His fifteen years of able and arduous service on the bench brought him the highest praise from the entire community. He was a loyal and abiding friend, and in every respect an excellent Christian gentleman. The journals of Des Moines devoted many columns to sketches of his useful career and estimates of his character and abilities.

HENRY HOSPERS was born in Hoog Blokland, the Netherlands, Feb. 6, 1830; he died in Orange City, Sioux county, Iowa, Oct. 21, 1901. He came to America in 1840, and settled in Pella, Marion county, where he lived until 1870, when he led a new colony to northwestern Iowa, and settled at Orange City. While living at Pella he was elected mayor of the town. His advent in Sioux county was during the reign of one of the old court house rings which had been flourishing for several years in many county seats in northwestern Iowa. Many of the counties were steeped in debt. The "authorities" issued county warrants without stint, and were engaged in schemes to squander the school and swamp land funds. Mr. Hospers redeemed his county from the clutches of one of these rings, and was instrumental in making it one of the best governed counties in the State. He became a banker at Orange City, acquiring considerable wealth. He was elected a member of the house of the 22d and 23d general assemblies, and later on served a term of four years in the senate. While a quiet man for the most part, he still had much influence, arising from his well known business character and integrity. He was regarded as the father of the prosperous town of Orange City, and was held in the highest respect by all who knew him. Few men have done more for the cause of public education. Cyrenus Cole, in his article on Pella, which was published in THE ANNALS for January, 1898, paid a high tribute to Mr. Hospers, and the article was accompanied by a portrait of that excellent man. In his death the State of Iowa lost one of its most upright men and useful citizens.

FRANK H. PEAVEY was born in Eastport, Me., Jan. 18, 1850; he died in Chicago, Ill., Dec. 30, 1901. Mr. Peavey came to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1867, where he first found employment with the agricultural implement firm of the Messrs. Booge & Co. Since that time his rise to the high position he occupied at his death has been phenomenally rapid. He removed to Minneapolis in 1884, where he became one of the largest owners of grain elevators in this country if not in the world. He was also a large owner of railroad properties and of lake steamers. Starting as a newsboy at Eastport, Maine, at the age of 14, he had become the possessor of millions. It would require many pages to enumerate the business interests—many of the first magnitude—with which he was connected. Personally, he was one of the most commanding figures and finest looking men, and socially and at all times a most pleasant gentleman. He was also the dispenser of liberal charities—a large-hearted, broad-minded philanthropist. For many years he had taken a deep interest in the newsboys of Minneapolis, and had arranged to give to every one at the end of the year double the amount he had saved. He was also a generous giver in the founding of hospitals and libraries. His wife was a daughter of the late Judge George G. Wright, of Des Moines. As a former Iowa business man of the highest and best type, Mr. Peavey deserves a more extended notice than can be given in this place. The newspapers of Sioux City, Des Moines, Minneapolis and St. Paul, of Dec. 31, 1901, paid the highest tributes to his memory.

DR. MICHAEL GARST was born in Botetourt county, Virginia, June 17, 1815; he died at Coon Rapids, Iowa, October 5, 1891. In 1833 he removed to Dayton, Ohio, where he studied medicine with his brother, Dr. Silas Garst. He finished his medical studies at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, where he graduated in 1837. He returned to Dayton, where he practiced his profession for some years, and where he engaged also in the real estate business. He served as surgeon of the 71st Illinois Infantry. After his return from the war he migrated to Iowa and settled on a farm, which is now within the corporate limits of the city of Boone. *The Coon Rapids Enterprise* says of Dr. Garst: "He was a rugged character, of ideal habits and had no patience with shams. His correct idea of life—of how one should live, was carried scrupulously even into dress, his apparel always being faultless, and instead of permitting himself to become bent with age he carried himself erect, being as straight as an arrow. His life is a splendid example to young men, in fact, to all men. It teaches that one should retain an intense interest in life to the last, keep informed, keep one's life clean, be ambitious and exact in all things, even to little things. With his other virtues he was always cheerful, sociable and entertaining."

COL. DORUS M. FOX was born in Adams, N. Y., Nov. 20, 1817; he died in Des Moines, Nov. 20, 1901. He began his business life as a clerk in a grocery store in Detroit, Mich., later on serving in a dry goods house in the same capacity. He also taught school at Milford, Mich., about the year 1837. In 1840 he removed to Lyons, Mich., where he resided for the next thirty years, engaging in the mercantile and milling business. At the beginning of the civil war he enlisted in the 9th Michigan Infantry, where he was rapidly promoted until he reached the grade of major in September, 1861. When the 27th Michigan Infantry was organized he was made its colonel. His military service brought him much credit, and he was finally discharged on account of wounds received in the operations around Petersburg, Va., in 1864. He settled in Chicago and entered into business, but his property was completely destroyed in the great fire. After that he was mainly engaged in newspaper work and the writing of books. In 1886 he came to Des Moines, which was afterwards his home. He possessed considerable ability as a writer, and at his death left in manuscript a life of the Marquis de Lafayette, which is pronounced by those who have read it to be a work of high merit.

PETER MELENDY was born in Cincinnati, O., Feb. 9, 1823; he died in Cedar Falls, Iowa, Oct. 18, 1901. Mr. Melendy came to Iowa in the early fifties and from that time to the day of his death was almost constantly in public life, and often an important factor in the growth, progress and politics of the State. He served as United States marshal, secretary of the State Agricultural Society, three terms as mayor of Cedar Falls, and in various other positions under the State and general governments. He was a trustee of the agricultural college for fourteen years, and was in other ways prominently identified with the educational interests of the State. In the beginning of our marvelous railroad development he was also a leader. He was a delegate to national, State and district conventions times without number. He had also held many important positions in Ohio before coming to Iowa. In fact, it would require many pages of this magazine to tell the story of this useful life. Mr. Melendy was a man of fine personal qualities, and enjoyed the confidence of the people where he lived as well as of leading men throughout the State. In his death the State has lost one of its most useful and widely known pioneer citizens.

HUGH REID BELKNAP was born in Keokuk, Iowa, Sept. 1, 1860; he died at Luzon, in the Philippine Islands, Nov. 12, 1901. He was the son of

Gen. William Worth Belknap, the distinguished Iowa soldier and secretary of war. His education was begun in the Keokuk high school and completed at the Phillips Exeter Academy, N. H., and at Andover. Soon after his school days he entered the employment of the Baltimore and Ohio R. R. Co., becoming chief clerk to the general manager. He afterwards opened a law office in Chicago. While engaged in the practice of his profession he was elected to congress, where he served two terms. Last spring he received from President McKinley the appointment of major and paymaster in the regular army, and was sent to the Philippines, where he fell a victim to disease incident to that climate. Major Belknap was well known throughout this State. He was a genial, excellent gentleman, whose early death will be deplored, especially by the old soldiers who served in the civil war in the commands led by his father. He was the last member of the family of the late Gen. Belknap and leaves no children.

PRESTON M. SUTTON was born in Kalamazoo, Mich., Feb. 22, 1845; he died at Marshalltown, Iowa, Nov. 19, 1901. He was educated at the Northern Illinois Normal school, at Normal, Ill. He came to Iowa in 1860, locating near Albion, where he was for a time employed to take charge of the mathematical department of the Iowa Lutheran college. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted in Co. A, Sixth Iowa Cavalry, in which he served two years. After the war he settled in Marshalltown where he was for a time principal of the public schools. He was chosen clerk of the courts, which position he held four years. During this time he read law and was admitted to the bar, becoming a partner with Judge H. C. Henderson and A. L. Merriam. He served a term in the State senate, including the sessions of 1884 and '86—20th and 21st general assemblies. He took an active part in securing temperance legislation and in establishing the Soldiers' Home at Marshalltown. As a criminal lawyer he became widely known throughout the State. He was a man of marked ability, positive and unyielding in his convictions, and before he fell a victim to ill-health was active and influential.

WILLIAM A. DINWIDDIE was born at La Porte, Ind., Aug. 26, 1839; he died at Palmyra, Wis., Nov. 4, 1901. He received his education in the public schools, and afterwards taught school for about two years, when he entered Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, from which he took his degree of M. D., in 1860. He did not, however, practice medicine, as he had early decided upon a military career. He was appointed cadet at West Point, and had passed the necessary examinations, but before the time came to enter that school, the civil war broke out, and he volunteered as a private soldier, joining the 22d Iowa Infantry. He was at once made hospital steward, and soon became assistant surgeon. He served with the regiment until it was mustered out in 1865. After the close of hostilities, he served several months in the provost marshal's department. He entered the regular army in 1866 as second lieutenant and was promoted to first lieutenant in 1874. He was retired from active service from injuries received in the line of duty, in 1866, having spent eighteen years in the U. S. army. After that time he was connected with several educational institutions as instructor in military tactics.

MRS. MARY A. BICKERDYKE was born in Knox county, Ohio, near the town of Mt. Vernon, July 19, 1817, and died Nov. 8, 1901, at the home of her son in Bunker Hill, Kansas. "Mother Bickerdyke," as she was called, was known and loved throughout the country for her heroic work as a nurse during the civil war. She came of revolutionary ancestors, her grandfather having served under Washington. At the age of 25 she married and removed with her husband to Galesburg, Ill., where he died before

the beginning of the civil war. She began her work as volunteer nurse, but was soon appointed an agent for the Sanitary Commission. Her labors for the soldiers in the field, in hospitals and prisons, at Shiloh, Corinth, Memphis, with Sherman's army, at Andersonville, and other places, made her name famous. Her splendid constitution, courage and zeal, eminently fitted her for the arduous life she had undertaken. She was pensioned by the government in 1886. Although not an Iowa woman, her care of Iowa soldiers has made her name a household word in our State.

JOHN PATTEE was born in Canada 81 years ago; he died at Hot Springs, S. D., Nov. 30, 1901. He removed to Iowa about the year 1850, settling first in Bremer county. He was appointed Auditor of Public Accounts by Gov. J. W. Grimes in 1855, to fill a vacancy, and elected to the same place the following year. His regular term expired Jan. 3, 1859. He entered the military service early in the civil war, and was variously connected with our 14th and 41st Infantry regiments, and finally promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 7th Iowa Cavalry. Since the war he has resided mostly in the Dakotas. The deceased veteran was related by marriage to Gov. Kirkwood, Ezekiel Clark, and the late Judge William Phillips of Des Moines. He held the office of State Auditor when the title was "auditor of public accounts," and during his service it was changed to its present designation, "auditor of state." His record of public service in Iowa was in all respects creditable.

ROLLIN V. ANKENY was born at Somerset, Pa., May 22, 1830; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 24, 1901. He read medicine after his school days, but did not practice it as a profession. He settled on a farm near Freeport, Ill., where he resided several years. He entered the military service in 1861, becoming orderly sergeant, first lieutenant, and captain in the 15th Illinois Infantry. He was present at the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh. In 1864 he organized the 142d Illinois Infantry, serving with it until the end of the war, when he was mustered out with the rank of brigadier-general. He was connected with *The Freeport Journal* for some years, but removed to Des Moines in 1879, where he resided until his death. He had served in various public positions under the general and State governments, becoming especially well known locally from his discharge of the duties of coroner of Polk county for several years.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS was born in Steubenville, O., Sept. 27, 1827; he died in Phoenix, Arizona, Nov. 27, 1901. He was born on a farm and received a collegiate education. In 1851 he migrated to Illinois and settled in Peoria, where he engaged in merchandizing, but having a love for the legal profession, he studied law and was admitted to practice in 1854. Coming to this State, he first settled on a farm in Greene county, near Jefferson, which town he assisted in laying out. He came to Des Moines in 1856, where he remained in the practice of his profession until his death. During this period he had as partners such distinguished men as Hon. Curtis Bates, Col. C. H. Gatch, Maj. David Ryan, Judge James G. Day (former chief justice of Iowa), Col. E. J. Goode and W. B. Crosby. He occupied a prominent position at the bar and was held in high esteem throughout the wide circle of his acquaintance.

A. H. BOTKIN was born in Clark county, O., Oct. 3, 1820; he died at his home in Des Moines, Oct. 21, 1901. Capt. Botkin served in the civil war as lieutenant and afterwards as captain in the 79th Ohio. At the close of the war he came to Des Moines which place, with the exception of one year, has since been his home. He has occupied various positions of honor and trust. He was at one time superintendent of the East Des Moines schools; he served as justice of the peace for Lee township; and once held the position of chief of police. He was prominent in Grand Army circles.

Historical Department of Iowa.

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THE FLOOD OF 1851

BY TACITUS HUSSEY

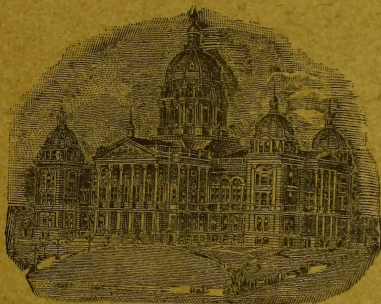
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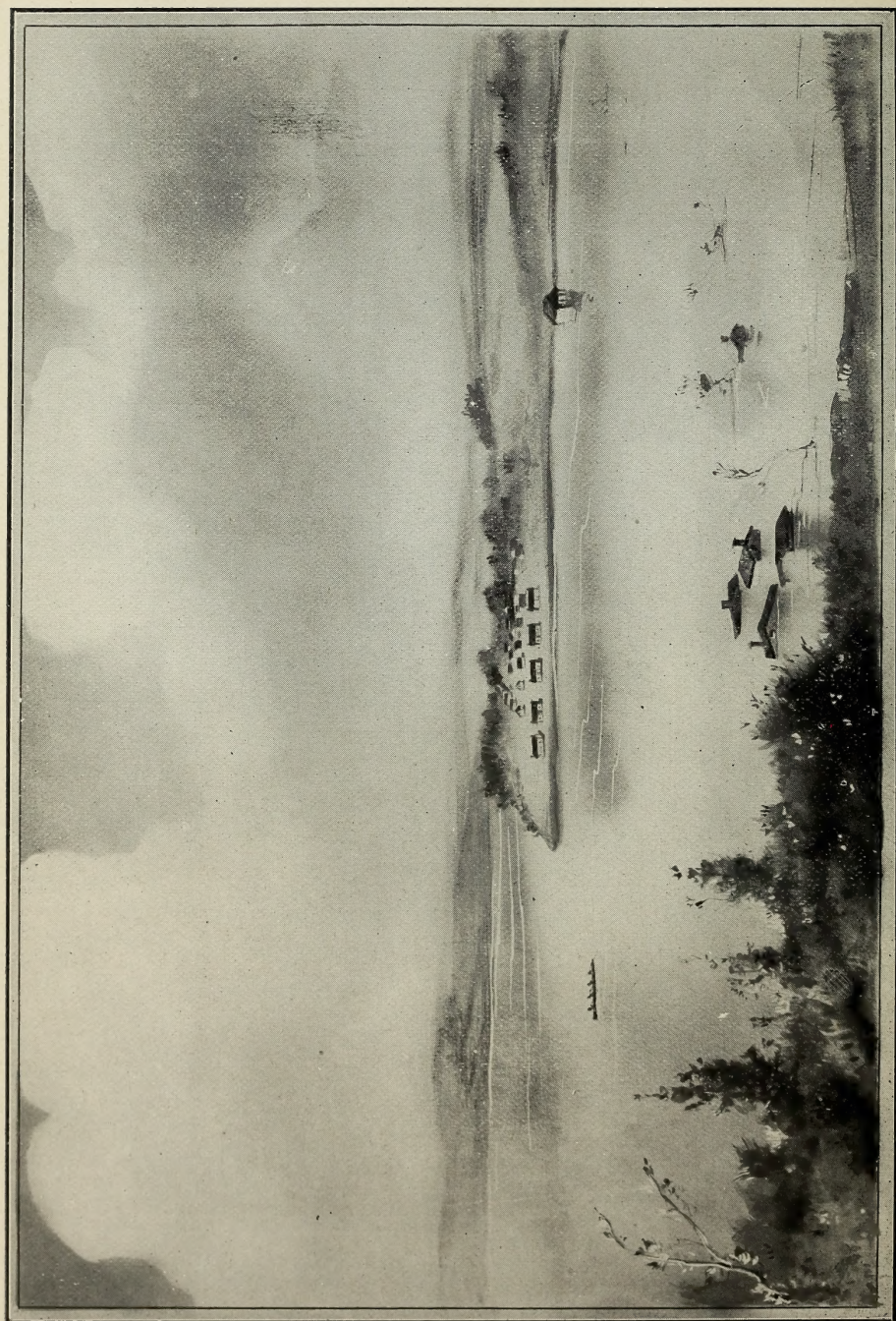
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FORT DES MOINES DURING THE FLOOD OF 1851.

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DES MOINES, IOWA, JULY, 1902.

3D SERIES.

THE FLOOD OF 1851.

BY TACITUS HUSSEY.

The flood of 1851 was one of those extraordinary events which happen in a state but once in a lifetime. It could scarcely occur again because of changes in physical conditions. The Des Moines river and its tributaries drained then as now a very large territory. Nearly one-third of the counties of Iowa are touched by this stream which flows in a somewhat meandering way across the State, from west to east, mingling with the waters of the Mississippi about four miles below Keokuk. When it is remembered that in 1851 the upper part of the territory was in a state of perennial wildness and incapacitated by its grassy surface for receiving into its soil the rain, which ran into the nearest streams, the wonder will not be so great. It will be remembered, also, that the source of the Des Moines river touches Minnesota, so famous for its heavy snowfall, which, melting somewhat later than the snows in the central part of this State, fed the smaller tributaries and kept their channels full until the spring rain clouds poured out their copious contributions. The flood of 1851 was phenomenal, and seemed to be the culmination of what is sometimes called a "wet weather cycle."

Let us take the record of the "rain gauge" of eight years, beginning with 1848, two years after the State, which was the youngest and most promising of the sisterhood, was admitted to the Union:

1848, rainfall.....	26	inches.
1849, rainfall.....	59	inches.

1850, rainfall.....	49	inches.
1851, rainfall.....	74½	inches.
1852, rainfall.....	49	inches.
1853, rainfall.....	45	inches.
1854, rainfall.....	23	inches.
1855, rainfall.....	28	inches.

It will be readily seen that more than six feet of water fell upon the earth's surface in less than five months, in addition to the melting of heavy snows in the spring; this would make each "rivulet a roaring cataract," and convert ordinarily well behaved rivers into miniature oceans. It was thus that the flood of waters came sweeping out all sown and planted crops on the low lands, and carrying away everything loose and floatable. Bridges were few over the rivers below; but the primitive ferryboats, fences, stock, stables, and in some cases farm houses, were abandoned to the watery elements, while the owners fled to the hills, glad to escape with their lives. The newspapers published that year (the columns of which have been thoroughly scanned by the writer) gave few particulars in regard to the phenomena. They seemed for some reason to say but little about it, probably because they did not wish the outside world to know what a severe calamity it was, but it was mentioned by some of them in meagre paragraphs under the caption "An Unprecedented Flood," "The Great Rainfall," "The Swelling Rivers," etc. They preferred, like the wounded dove, to hide the rankling arrow of misfortune under the wing of silence.

It might be well to mention, however, that newspapers were not very plentiful in Iowa in those early days. A partial list, gleaned from an old musty record, of papers published in the early fifties, is given:

Evening Gazette, Burlington; *The Western American*, Keosauqua; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Burlington; *Der Demokrat*, Davenport; *Fairfield Ledger*, Fairfield; *Lee County News*, Keokuk; *Iowa State Press*, Iowa City; *Constitution-Democrat*, Keokuk; *Gate City*, Keokuk; *Muscatine Journal*, Muscatine; *Ottumwa Courier*, Ottumwa; *Ottumwa Democrat*, Ottumwa; *The Iowa Star*, Fort Des Moines; *Fort Des Moines Gazette*, Fort Des Moines; *Oska-*

loosa Herald, Oskaloosa; *Iowa Democratic Inquirer*, Muscatine; *Miners' Express*, Dubuque; *Dubuque Herald*, Dubuque; *Jeffersonian Democrat*, Keosauqua; *Progressive Era*, Cedar Rapids.

The destruction on the upper part of the Des Moines river was principally in the undermining of the immense trees which stood on its banks. There are two branches of the upper Des Moines which unite a short distance below Humboldt. The channel of the united streams is narrow, rocky, and hemmed in by cliffs of rock, or high hills. The river is very crooked, and in ordinary stages runs like a mill-race. Hundreds of stately trees were uprooted and swept down stream by the resistless current. At some sudden turn of the river where the banks were not so high, the great volume of water would "cut across" to the next bend, carrying everything in its way. The largest trees, after having the soil washed from under their roots, would fall with a crash and join the army of floaters in the wild rush to the far away Mississippi. This destruction was increased when that part of the river below Fort Dodge was reached and the river bottoms became wider. The fierce current ripped up the alluvial soil, undermining the heavy timber, forming temporary dams, ploughing out new channels and carrying the soil, reduced to infinitesimal particles, to the south to form new islands, and change the line of the shores.

Of course this work was unwitnessed by human eyes; but the many islands and deserted channels tell the story of the force of this great flood, and the lesser ones which at intervals followed.

The west part of Fort Des Moines suffered but little loss of property. Business was completely paralyzed, as few passed out or in during the time the flood was at its height. According to the best accounts gathered from the old settlers, the rains were almost incessant from early in May until about the middle of July, and three times during the season the waters broke beyond the bank's confining, in each instance adding gloom to the situation. The east side of the

river opposite Des Moines was covered with water, with a swift current rushing down where the Chicago and Northwestern depot now stands; and the few buildings which stood on the river bottoms here, were swept away, or hopelessly wrecked. On the west side of the river there was a stretch of low ground running in a southerly direction beginning at the mouth of Bird's run and continuing nearly or quite to where the Rock Island depot now stands. At Third street and Court avenue the water partially covered the street, and William Moore, Aurelius Reynolds, B. F. Allen, A. J. Stevens, Chapman & Thomas, William Krause, Hoyt Sherman, Madison Young and others, all gay young men in those days, who boarded at the Marvin House, near Third and Walnut, were compelled to build a raft on which to cross the "back water" coming from the Des Moines, and pole themselves across six times a day. The presence of water in small quantities on Court avenue and Second street is explained in this way: when the old court house, which stood where the Union depot now stands, was built in 1847-8, Mr. W. R. Close was given the contract for making the brick. He found the right kind of clay in the immediate vicinity, and in getting out the necessary amount of material left a large excavation which was continually filled with water. During the summer it stood with a green scum over it and was the receptacle, probably, for dead animals of all kinds. The citizens fearing it would breed disease, and in order to drain it, dug a deep ditch on the side of the street leading to Second street, and thence to Bird's run. When the water rose in 1851, it found easy access to those portions of the village touched by this primitive canal. This will account for the water reported in small quantities on Second, Vine, Third and lower Court avenue. "The water in the ditch" proved a very good gauge for those who were too busy playing checkers, poker, or "one grain of corn ante," to go to the river to see "if she was still rising." By looking at the "ditch" the problem was easily solved.

On the side of the main traveled road leading past Union Park, north of Des Moines, stood a large elm tree on which there was a deep notch cut marking the greatest height of the flood during the summer of 1851. This mark was made by one of the Thompson boys, at the river bend a mile or so above the city, whose pioneer residence is now included in Union Park. The notch as noted at the time this article was written shows the depth of water to have been about four feet. A surveyor, after looking at this mark not long since, and making a mental calculation of the "level" of the water's height a mile and a half below, estimated that it would be about 23 feet above low water mark. This would bring it near the floor of the present Walnut street bridge. When it is remembered that the water spread from bluff to bluff, the magnitude of the volume can readily be imagined.

As business was almost at a standstill many of our citizens spent the season in catching sawlogs, trees and driftwood, and anchored them safely along the shores until the waters should recede. Much valuable timber was secured in this way. While catching sawlogs with a boat just below the village, Conrad Youngerman was drowned. In company with John Youngerman and L. D. Karnes, a tailor, he was engaged in this business, when from some unaccountable cause the boat was capsized and Mr. Youngerman was swept away by the swift current and drowned before aid could reach him. The other two men, after a hard struggle for their lives, were saved.

During this year of flood Dr. Thomas K. Brooks was building a house on his farm about a mile east of where the State capitol now stands. He was much troubled about getting his building material to the location, until a raft was built. This was loaded with material and floated over the river bottoms to what is known as "Brooks' Lake," and unloaded on the highlands. The process was slow and attended with considerable danger, but was finally accomplished. The doors, window-frames, sash, glass and hardware formed the

last cargo, and the owner and ingenious contractor were very happy at having triumphed over the watery dilemma. "Brooks' Lake," fed by springs, is still in existence, and the south end of it furnishes water for the largest starch factory in the world.*

The Fort Des Moines Star, May 29, 1851, in speaking of the downpour, says:

For three weeks it has rained almost incessantly, pouring down from the clouds as if the very windows of heaven were opened. Neither the memory of the oldest settlers along the banks of the Des Moines river, nor the memory of the natives who resided here before it was settled by the whites, nor any traditional account from the natives, furnishes any evidence of such a flood ever having occurred here, in all past time. The 'Coon and Des Moines rivers are higher by several feet than they were in the spring of 1849, which was the greatest rise of water ever known here up to that time.

Professor Charles Tuttle, in his "History of Iowa," says:

It commenced to be wet weather the early part of May, and the heavens were almost daily blackened with angry clouds, and the rain poured down in torrents, frequently accompanied with violent winds and loud pealing thunder, till July.

Prof. Tuttle also states, though his exact language is not quoted, that the fish left the regular channels of the river and found their ways into the ravines and lagoons to be captured by hungry settlers when the waters receded. All the towns on the banks of the river below Fort Des Moines to the Mississippi which were on the lower table lands were flooded. At the height of the flood the water was $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet above low water mark. This immense volume of water spread all over the bottom lands, and East Des Moines was under water to the second bank or ledge, and could only be traversed by boats and rafts.

The Muscatine Journal of May 21, 1851, says:

The Mississippi is still rising and lacks but a few inches of the great rise of 1844. A part of Muscatine island is overflowed.

The Oskaloosa Herald of June that year says:

*Destroyed by fire December 5, 1901.

The destruction of property on the Des Moines river has been very great. Farms have been cleared of fences, growing crops, houses and everything of a movable nature. The river was never known to be so high before. A vast amount of grain in the cribs has been swept away. The inhabitants on the river bottoms have been compelled to desert their houses and flee to the bluffs for refuge. A number of dwellings were carried entirely away. This calamity will be doubly hard on the citizens of the vicinity of the Des Moines river, as it has not only destroyed the present crops but has taken away the old crops that were in store for the needs of the present season. Eddyville, Ottumwa, Red Rock, and the eastern part of Fort Des Moines are nearly submerged by the overflowing river.

It must not be understood by the reader that this flood was confined to the Des Moines valley. The deluge was general, and wherever there were rivers or streams of any size, they were changed to wild torrents, carrying destruction before them.

The Iowa Democratic Inquirer of June 6, 1851, gives an account of the flood on the Maquoketa river, Jackson county, where much damage was done:

A large flouring mill, saw mill, and carding mill, situated on the Maquoketa, are reported as swept away. In addition to the damage done to buildings, mills, warehouses, etc., much damage is also done to farms by the lodgment of drift. In almost every valley the soil has been more or less swept from its bed, and on hillsides the ploughed fields have been badly washed. It is almost impossible to form even an approximate estimate of the damage done in various ways to the property of this county.

The Dubuque Herald of June 8th of this year gives an account of the drowning of Mrs. Alloway and the marvelous escape of her husband:

Mr. and Mrs. Alloway, an elderly couple, lived by themselves on the banks of the Maquoketa river. When they found themselves in danger by the sudden rise of the water, they attempted to escape by flight, but were overtaken by the flood before they could reach a place of safety. The husband, finding they were about to be swept away by the strong current, laid hold of a bush with one hand while with the other he attempted to sustain his drowning wife. The unequal struggle was maintained for some time; but suddenly the wife ceased to struggle and the helpless body was torn from his grasp and sank out of sight. The husband retained his hold on the bush until he was rescued in an exhausted state in the morning.

Red Rock, in Marion county, being built on the banks of the Des Moines river, was completely flooded and the few

inhabitants were compelled to move to the higher land when the river began to overflow its banks. It was a steamboat station and a rival of Fort Des Moines in the very early steamboating days. Above the village there stands a huge cliff of red sandstone, guarding the approach by river, while below stands a similar cliff, keeping watch and ward over the sleepy village. It looks very much as if the river at some remote period had cut this great formation in two, leaving the remnants to emphasize nature's handiwork, as they stand there with polished sides, smiling or frowning as the sun or shadows rest upon their moss-grown faces. Nature is a tireless worker, and when there is a stupendous task to perform is never in a hurry. "A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night;" so the cutting of the channel through the solid rock must have taken a great many "yesterdays" as the God of nature reckons. Perhaps the task was not so great after all. The huge mountain may have been of soft material when the never-ceasing current cut through its way; and then, by a miracle which occupied a few aeons of time, the cliffs were hardened to stone. Were this stone as durable as beautiful, it would be the finest building material in Iowa.

How the contracted current must have rushed and roared through these narrow channels! And with what alacrity the water must have spread over the wide, low bottoms a few miles below, enlarging to a lake of from one to three miles wide, bearing on its bosom every movable article from a stand of bees to the faithful cow!

Eddyville was a sufferer, also, by the flood. A portion of the village lying close to the river was under water three different times; the height of the flood being about the middle of June. Mr. E. L. Smith, agent of the U. S. Express at Des Moines, lived there at the time. He came to Eddyville in 1845, and in the year 1850 entered the service of Hon. Ed. Manning, who had a store and warehouse near the

bank of the river.* The river began to show flood-signs about the middle of May and many of the families living on the lowlands had taken refuge on a gravelly knoll where the railroad depot now stands. The storekeepers and warehousemen were compelled to reach their places of business by means of boats and canoes. The inhabitants took the flooding good-naturedly, and in true pioneer spirit shared shelter and provisions with those who were in need. Some of the storekeepers slept on their counters in order to be prepared for any emergency, or to wait on such customers as were provided with boats. On awakening in the morning, the sleepers never knew whether their feet would sink in the mud on the floor left by the receding river, or in three feet of water, the result of an incoming flood. At the supposed height of the flood four adventurous Des Moines men—Messrs. Hoyt Sherman, J. M. Griffith, W. T. Marvin and Peter Myers—appeared at the hotel in a skiff and, tying their boat to the bannisters of the hotel stairway, climbed to the second story and ate a hearty dinner. They were on their way to St. Louis to charter a steamboat for the upper Des Moines river, as provisions were getting very scarce and relief must be obtained in some way.†

For a few days previous to their arrival Mr. Smith had been transferring a thousand or two bushels of corn from Mr. Manning's warehouse to the large warehouse of William Butcher. The latter then stood high and dry, and being nearer the river, was more convenient for loading the corn on the boats for St. Louis. The transfer had been finished on the day the voyagers arrived. The corn was spread over the floor and the doors left open that it might dry quickly. Before the voyagers left they reported that a "three foot rise" was due some time before morning. The owners of the corn treated the prophecy as a "river joke" and paid no further

*Mr. E. L. Smith died in Des Moines May 2, 1902.

†An account of this is related by Mr. Hoyt Sherman in *ANNALS OF IOWA*, April, 1900.

attention to it. In the morning, however, when the superintendent visited the warehouse to "see how the corn was drying," he found that the "three foot rise" had arrived and had floated the corn out of the open door, lodging a portion of it in the picket fences near by, while on the river thousands of floating ears were bobbing up and down in the swift current or circling in golden eddies near the shore. To make the loss more aggravating, corn was worth about two dollars a bushel!

A short distance below Eddyville there was a bend in the river where many trees had lodged, forming a boom which caught all manner of floating debris. When the water subsided sufficiently, every one who had lost an article which would float, repaired to the "drift" to identify and recover their lost property. There were bee-hives, buckets, tubs, baskets, boxes, firewood, fence rails, sidewalks, sections of picket fences, gates and all manner of household utensils. There was very little wrangling. Each woman recognized her tubs and the men needed not to be introduced to their sections of fences, gates and sidewalks.

On the Fourth of July of this year, three jolly couples went on a picnic excursion from Eddyville to Johnsonburg, a mile and a half down the river. The waters had retired within the banks, but the current was swift and dangerous. The going down was an easy task and with song and shout the destination was reached in about twenty minutes. The young people they had planned to meet were there and a pleasant afternoon was spent. The coming back, however, was the rub! Two of the young men rowed while the third endeavored to steer the boat, which zigzagged across the stream wherever there was a promise of smooth water. They hugged the shore closely, taking advantage of all the eddies in the endeavor to make headway. After a three hours' pull, during which seats with the helmsman were changed many times to the peril of the fair voyagers, they reached the starting point with blistered hands and thankful hearts. The

“grave and reverend senior” who related this incident, and who was one of the boating party, said: “As I look back on that wild jaunt of fifty-one years ago, remembering the peril we were in without realizing it, I would not go through the same experience again for the best farm in Iowa.”

Ottumwa, what there was of it in that early day, was built very near the river, the better to receive and freight goods on the passing steamboats. One who was there at the time says:

We had to move everything we had in our houses and stores to higher ground, and be quick about it. In June, some time about the middle if I remember right, every store, warehouse and residence on the low ground was partially submerged. The highest point was reached about that time, and those who made measurements afterwards found that the water was nearly 23 feet above low water mark. We did not lose a bridge, as was reported, as we had none to lose. There has never been a flood since, to equal the flood of 1851.

D. H. Ainsworth, of Newton, Iowa, in his very interesting book entitled, “The Recollections of a Civil Engineer,” in speaking of the high water on the Cedar river during one of his surveying trips, while running a line from Wilton Junction to Oskaloosa in 1853, says:

On the east side of Iowa river below its confluence with the Cedar, we stopped at the Ferry-house, where were many disagreeable persons, and a parrot usually roosting on an open door at meal time nearly over the table. To get here a high water mark, we took the elevation of a streak on the plastering about three feet from the floor, where the water had evidently stood. Greater surprise would have been occasioned had I not, some weeks before, on the banks of the Cedar at Rochester City, seen a monument marked “High-water of 1851.”

Iowaville had a wide stretch of bottom land between the river and the bluff, a mile or so away. It was situated on the north side of the river. At the time of the flood of 1851 the village contained about thirty houses, some stores, a blacksmith shop and hotel. The village exists in memory only, as the former site is now used as a farm. Previous to the flood there was a sawmill running by steam on the bank of the river and N. L. Milburn, who had contracted to put up a

bridge at Keosauqua, had a small gang of men getting out the material and framing it ready to raft it down the river.

About the 20th of May the water rose so high that it put out the furnace fires and the work had to be abandoned for the time being. The workmen engaged were R. E. Underwood, foreman, Ed. Dunning, Richard Douglas, William Terry, Seth Graham of Des Moines, and perhaps others. When the waters cut off the inhabitants from the mainland all the available men and boats were set to work to carry them to the bluffs about a mile away. They took with them such articles as would be available for camping purposes. A generous-hearted farmer by the name of Joel Avery, who lived on the high ground, sent this message to his unfortunate neighbors: "Come over and bunk with me; I have a big house and barn, and everything I have is at your service." The invitation was generally accepted, and instead of looking upon the flood as a calamity, it was turned into a picnic of nearly a month's duration. These neighbors clubbed together, did their cooking out of doors, and used the farmhouse and barn for shelter and sleeping apartments. A partial list of the names of those accepting Mr. Avery's hospitality follows: The Stouts, Hoovers, Huttons, James and John Baker, Alexander Nedrow, B. Nagle, William Starr, Rev. Mr. Rathburn, a Mormon preacher, with their belongings. Some of the inhabitants who lived in two-story houses moved into the second story and so lived until the waters subsided.

The Iowa hotel moved its furniture and cooking utensils into the second story where the guests, who arrived and departed in boats, were made as comfortable as possible. Mr. Seth Graham, now a resident of Des Moines, who "passed through the flood," says that the water reached its height about the 20th of June and spread over the lowlands, from bluff to bluff, doing great damage where there was a strong current. The bridge contracted for by the authorities at Keosauqua and N. L. Milburn was never put in place, partly

on account of the high water and also because of a disagreement between the contracting parties; each preferred to lose the money advanced and the work already done rather than complete the contract. About the middle of March, 1852, a heavy windstorm from the west caught the two spans of the bridge already in place and hurled them into the river with a great crash. The authorities then began to advertise a free ferry in order to catch a share of the California immigration. An early settler in mentioning this matter refers to it as the first "draw" bridge contract ever entered into by a county in Iowa.

The hearts of the people of Iowaville were made happy on the Fourth of July of that year by the arrival of the steamboat Caleb Cope well loaded with provisions for the hungry people on the upper river. It will be remembered that this boat reached Fort Des Moines on the 5th of July of that year, and was a welcome arrival, for provisions had become very scarce and high.

It always adds interest to a history to have the personal experience of a participator in the incidents. It is a pleasure, therefore, to introduce to the reader Mr. Carlisle St. John, who spent his boyhood days at Keosauqua, Iowa, and whose remembrance of the flood at that place is fresh, notwithstanding more than half a century has elapsed. His sketch is given as written, with but few changes:

THE FLOOD AT KEOSAUQUA.

To get an intelligent idea of the flood at this point it is necessary that the reader should have some knowledge of the lay of the ground. Just above the business part of the town a small ravine opened into the river, and below the business district a small stream emptied into the river. In the times of high water these ravines overflowed and formed bayous. The business was located along First street, or the river front, and in the rear of this, and about midway between First and Second streets, the ground was lower. Until '51 there had been no inconvenience experienced from the water backing up and forming these bayous, but this year it kept rising until it began feeling its way along the low ground in the rear of the business houses, connecting the upper and lower bayous and at last left the business portion of the town an island.

At first a gangway answered the purpose of keeping up communication between the business portion and the mainland; but in a short time the current became too strong and swept it away, so it became necessary to provide some kind of a craft to meet this emergency. Everybody made a watercraft from the best material which could be found. I had one of the most unique. At that time I was serving my last year as an apprentice to the tin trade. The proprietor had just had manufactured a peddling-box for the purpose of hauling his wares through the country in order to supply country dealers. This peddling-box was made of inch pine boards nailed together and in proportion and appearance might have been taken for a baby flatboat. It had not yet been placed on the wagon and was sitting by the side of the shop. I caulked it up as well as I could, launched it, and with a pole to propel it started for the mainland. I soon found it to be a real broncho to ride. It bucked worse than a broncho. A broncho might fail sometime to throw its rider—but this, never! There was always some water in it, and this would roll from one side to the other, so at about the third lurch it never failed to throw me, to the great amusement of those on shore. The water soon became too high to run a craft of that kind, and the proprietor bought an excellent skiff of some parties who had come down the river, and put me in possession of it. From that time on, I roamed the surging flood with the freedom of a buccaneer. By this time the water was running over the lowest places on Front street and kept rising until it came onto the floors of the business houses. The merchants moved their goods higher up on the shelves and on the tops of the counters, all the while saying, "It certainly will not get much higher." But it kept coming up until it reached the top of the counters in some instances, and in others about half way up, and remained at that point for a short time. Then it began to recede and reached about the original high-water mark where it remained for something like a week. It then began to rise again, and reached a point a few inches higher than before. After a short time it began to recede again and continued to do so until it was finally within its banks where it remained.

In a little while all traces were cleared away and business was resumed, and everything moved along as if there never had been a flood. There appeared to be no serious results from it. The water passed the high-water mark in the fore part of May, and receded the last time about the middle of June, causing an interruption of business of about five weeks. It caused a great deal of inconvenience and loss of business, but the people kept in good spirits through it all. Some one found some horseshoes and a game of quoits was started, and soon almost every one was quoit-pitching, apparently getting some fun out of what would seem a great calamity. But it was very quiet and monotonous. Not a stir but the water as it swept by between the houses in the submerged districts. A "gondolier" with his girl was occasionally seen passing among the submerged houses taking in the situation; or, perhaps, a larger craft with youngsters aboard, with mirth and song, somewhat relieved the monotony.

I remember seeing a boat load of young folks on the lower bayou,

among whom was E. O. Stannard, who, having a fine voice, sang some of the melodies of the day, among which was "A Farmer's Life is the Life for Me." A little more than a year after this he left the parental roof and went out to make his own way in the world. In a few years we heard of him as a member of a business firm in St. Louis; again as lieutenant-governor of the state of Missouri; again in the councils of the nation as a member of congress from St. Louis; today he is one of the foremost business men of that city, and recently received favorable mention in connection with the second highest office in the gift of the American people. Of the business concerns and residents who were flooded at that time I recall the following:

The steam flouring-mill, belonging to the estate of Hugh Brown, located on the bank of the river just above the upper bayou.

L. W. Thornburg, furniture manufacturer, on First street and located on the upper bayou.

William McNee, stoves and tinware, on First street, near Market.

The firm of Marlow & Whittlesey, general merchants.

Henry Wheelan, drug store, on the corner of First and Main streets.

William Burton, general bakery and restaurant, near the corner of Main on First street.

Julien & Wilson, dry goods, on First street.

George G. Wright and Joseph C. Knapp, lawyers, office on First street, between Main and Van Buren.

N. R. Dawson, tailor, on First street between Van Buren and Cass.

J. J. Kimberly, dry goods, corner of First and Cass streets.

Steele & Chittenden, dry goods, on First between Cass and Dodge.

James H. Jackson, merchant tailor, corner of Dodge and First streets.

Henry M. Shelby, attorney at law and county attorney, on First between Cass and Dodge streets.

Thomas Dare, tinware, corner of First and Market streets. We called him "Colonel" Dare. How he acquired this title I do not know, unless it was because he was one of those "hale fellows well met." He came to Keosauqua from Fairfield, Jefferson county, the fall previous, where he had been in business for a time as senior in the firm of "Dare, Sweat & Root." The firm had failed in Fairfield and he had come down to our place, I suppose temporarily, until he could select another situation. He was a bachelor but during the flood he was married to a lady of Fairfield, and brought her to Keosauqua as a bride during the high water. I assisted him in getting his tools and machinery onto the dry land. Shortly after this he moved to Osceola, Clarke county, where he established himself in business and reared a family. His son, George, is in the hardware business, now senior of the firm of Dare & Sanford, Osceola, Iowa.

Edwin Manning, general merchandise, corner of Van Buren and First streets. Mr. Manning is perhaps the oldest merchant in the State of Iowa having come to "Ioway Territory" somewhere about the '30s. He was one of the founders of Keosauqua, and the oldest merchant of the place; and although 91 years of age, is physically strong for one of his years. The

old sign of "Manning's Store" still remains, representing a remarkable business career of about 66 years.*

The Keosauqua House, James Shepherd, proprietor, corner of Van Buren street. This hotel was open for business all the time during the flood. The guests were conveyed back and forth in skiffs. Trestles with planks laid upon them extended from the entrance to the stairway and meals were served in the second story. The guests of the hotel at that time, as I recall them, were: J. B. Miller, lawyer; Dr. William Craig, Dr. C. C. Biser, Madison Dagger, Mr. Welsch, cabinet maker; Shephen S. Elwell, carpenter; and C. C. Nourse, lawyer. Mr. Nourse came there just between the first and second floods. He was recognized at once in his profession and in little more than a year was elected county attorney. He removed to Des Moines in 1858. In 1860 he was elected attorney general of the State; was re-elected in 1862; was subsequently judge and now ranks as one of the leading attorneys of the Polk county bar.

John B. Miller moved to Des Moines in the early '60s and engaged in the mercantile business under the firm name of Manning & Miller, after which he served Polk county as auditor for several years.

Leonard J. Rose, dry goods, corner of First and Cass streets. In 1858 he started for California, with perhaps one of the best outfits ever used in crossing the plains. He was advised to take the southern route, via Albuquerque. He got as far as the Colorado river where his party was attacked by Navajo Indians and nearly all his company massacred and his outfit taken by them. Mr. Rose and his immediate family escaped and returned to Albuquerque, where he remained until the next spring when he went to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and for a time kept the United States Hotel. Later he went to California, settling near Los Angeles, and established an immense vineyard and winery, one of the largest in the state, to which he gave the name "The Sunny Slope." It became one of the objects of interest to the tourist. He ranked as one of the foremost citizens of the state, was president of the Wine Growers' Association, and a member of the state senate. Some two years since his old-time friends were much surprised and grieved to read a newspaper announcement that he had committed suicide. Shortly after another newspaper paragraph told the sad story that a bank at Los Angeles had commenced foreclosure proceedings against his estate for the sum of \$150,000.

The Keosauqua Jeffersonian, Orlando E. Jones, proprietor, corner of Dodge and the alley between First and Second streets. I suppose the press used in printing this paper was the first, or among the first, brought into Iowa. It was brought to the State by James Shepherd in the early '40s. On it he printed the first newspaper published in the county, entitled *The Iowa Democrat*. A few years later James B. Howell and James Cowles published a paper entitled *The Des Moines Valley Whig*. In 1849 they bought *The Keokuk Register*, moved to Keokuk and merged the two papers. For

*Since this article was written Mr. Manning has passed away; he died in Keosauqua Aug. 16, 1901.

several years they published a paper entitled *The Des Moines Valley Whig and Keokuk Register*. From this has grown the present *Gate City*.

Among the families I recall in the submerged district were those of Joel Walker, on the alley on Cass street; Wesley Walker, on the opposite side of the street; N. R. Dawson, also on the opposite side of the same street; Francis Harrison and Elihu Hinkle, on Dodge street between First and Second; the families of Ormsby and the widow Miller on Van Buren street between First and Second. Living below the lower bayou and near the mill I remember the families of F. F. Anderson and Russo King, or "Major" King as he was familiarly called. Between the upper and lower bayous the water only reached to the land as far as Second street. I have lived on the Des Moines river since 1840 and the flood of '51 was the highest water I have known in that river.

In January, 1866, there was a spell of warm weather and an ice gorge came down upon us at Keosauqua in the night time. The water and ice reached about the same point as in the flood of 1851. This was a much severer flood, though of short duration. It was the custom to ring the Congregational church bell in case of fire. About 12 o'clock at night I was awakened by the ringing of the bell. My wife said, "There must be a fire." I replied, "No; I think it is water this time." When I got down to the river I found the ice and water overflowing its banks and the people making their escape from the flood in all directions. In a short time the gorge gave way and the water receded. In a little while it rose again so rapidly that some of the merchants who had gone to their stores were caught and had to remain surrounded by ice and water until the next morning. About 8 o'clock the gorge again gave way, the water receded and the danger was over. There were immense ice piles in the lagoons and in the streets which did not melt away until the next June.

Mr. Henri K. Pratt of Keokuk gives the following reminiscences of the flood of 1851 and some facts of the old history of Keosauqua:

I came to Keosauqua from Boston, Mass., when a small boy in the winter of 1843, and in 1844 I received my first lesson in politics by being instructed to "Hurrah for Polk and Dallas." In 1843 Jesse M. Shepherd and J. L. T. Mitchell came to Keosauqua and started *The Iowa Democrat*. In 1844 James Shepherd came to Keosauqua and took charge of it. This was before any paper had been started in Keokuk. J. L. T. Mitchell published a paper called *The Keosauqua Times*.

In 1850 Shepherd sold out to Orlando E. Jones, who published *The Keosauqua Jeffersonian*. This I well remember, for one day the foreman, R. E. Beahan, and I were alone in the office. The foreman went down town to get a drink when the sheriff came in and attached the office and locked it up, leaving me sitting on the doorstep. The foreman returned and his language was more forcible than elegant.

L. D. and H. Morris purchased *The Jeffersonian* and published *The*
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Western American. L. D. Morris was a fine and brilliant writer. Morris sold the office to H. and S. M. Mills and they published *The Democratic Union*. Mills sold the paper in 1854 to Millington and Summerlin, and they in turn sold it to J. M. Estes, who published *The Democratic Mirror*. Estes was a better fiddler than editor. He sold the paper to Oliver I. Taylor who published it as *The Des Moines News*. His brother, John M. Taylor, was considered the best local writer in the State. Oliver I. Taylor was a brilliant and scholarly man who could write better poetry than politics. He sold the paper to Shepherd, who was called "the veteran of the press." Shepherd sold the paper to a son of Dr. G. S. Bailey who took the old Washington press out west.

James B. Howell and James H. Cowles started *The Des Moines Valley Whig* in the '40s and published the paper until they removed to Keokuk where they established *The Whig and Register*, now *The Gate City*.

In 1855 H. C. Watkins came to Keosauqua and started *The Keosauqua Republican*. Watkins sold the paper to John S. Stidger, he sold to L. D. Morris, and Morris sold it to Joel Mayne, and I think Mayne sold it to Sloan and Rowley. Rowley still publishes the paper.

James Shepherd died years ago, beloved by all who knew him. He claimed to be the father of all the Masons in Van Buren county, and it was he who first showed Masons the "light" by which they read. J. M. Shepherd died in California a year or so ago, and Mitchell was still living at last accounts.

Seth Millington died in California, and Rufus Summerlin was living in Washington, D. C., when last heard from. Oliver I. Taylor died in Burlington, Iowa, and his brother, John M., died the same month in 1860. H. Mills died in Montreal, Canada, and S. M. Mills in Keokuk, Iowa.

I was a compositor on *The Western American*, *Democratic Union* and *Des Moines News*. I then went to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and on my return I again worked a short time for Shepherd. This was my last work as a compositor. J. S. Shepherd, a son of James Shepherd, is now publishing a paper at Mt. Ayr, Iowa.

I well remember the flood of 1851; the water was all over the front part of the town from two to ten feet deep, and the merchants had to flee to the hilly country. We lived on First street, one block from the levee, in a house where now stands the State Bank. The water rose over our doorstep.

I well remember Delazon Smith, the little giant orator, and Henry Clay Dean, with his eloquence and dirty shirt. Dean used to hold revival meetings in the old court house where sinners were nightly melted like old pewter and run up into christians bright and new. Dean died at his house, called "Rebels Cove," in Missouri, some years ago. Delazon Smith died in Oregon.

Keosauqua has furnished four United States Senators—D. Smith, Geo. G. Wright, James B. Howell and John H. Gear.

Perhaps I have made some errors in my statements, for it is hard to remember so many things away back in my boyhood days.

In the ANNALS OF IOWA, January, 1901, is an article on the flood from *The Western American*, published at Keosauqua, July 5, 1851. It is a very graphic account of the situation at that time. In the same paper of the date of August 9th, there appears this card:

C. C. Nourse, attorney at law, Keosauqua, Iowa. Office in the Court House. N. B. Conveyancing, &c., promptly attended to. Address, post paid.

Mr. C. C. Nourse, now of Des Moines, arrived at Keosauqua about June 1, 1851, "between floods," as one might say. After graduating at Transylvania college he started from Lexington, Ky., for the west by the way of Louisville, by boat. Thence up the swollen Mississippi to St. Louis and thence by steamboat to Burlington. The river was full of flood debris, consisting of fences, sidewalks, outhouses, farm houses, some of them with live chickens on the roof, dead stock of various kinds, corn, and in fact almost every article which would float, giving evidence of devastation by water seldom equalled. Arriving at Burlington he stopped at the Barrett House, now no more, but which has sheltered so many thousands of people seeking homes in the west. Here, in the solitude of his room, he held a "council of war" with himself as to where in Iowa he had better locate. He had been provided with general letters of introduction by Gen. T. A. Edwards and President Dodd, of Transylvania college, and had also a letter from the pastor of the Methodist church of which he was a member. He very wisely concluded to look up Rev. Mr. Dennis, having charge of the Methodist church at Burlington, whom he found to be a very affable and kind-hearted man. The supreme court was then in session, and as the minister was well acquainted with Judges J. F. Kinney, Joseph Williams and Geo. F. Greene, he took Mr. Nourse to their rooms at the Barrett House after the day's session was over and introduced him. He found one of the judges in the very undignified position of lying on his back playing the flute, for Judge Joseph Williams was

the master of many musical instruments. After the ice had been broken the little company indulged in many jokes and pleasantries. In asking Mr. Nourse some questions it leaked out in some way that he was the possessor of a diploma from Transylvania college.

"Where is your diploma?" asked Judge Williams.

"In one of my trunks in my room," answered Mr. Nourse.

"Let us have a look at it," requested the musical judge.

It was quickly produced; but horrors! it was written in Latin, and as none of the judges were very well acquainted with the dead languages they had to do considerable guessing before they arrived at the correct results, modestly aided by Mr. Nourse, who knew the language of the diploma by heart and the interpretation thereof. It was suggested that on the morrow Mr. Nourse should be admitted to the bar. It was usual in those days to appoint a committee to examine candidates for admission, and one of the judges suggested it, but Judge Williams interposed:

"It is entirely unnecessary in this case. The candidate is all right. The clerk will please make out his certificate of admission."

And Clerk J. W. Woods, "Old Timber" as he was familiarly called, made out the necessary document and affixed the seal.

Hearing of an opening in the law office of Mr. Ben Hall, of Keosauqua, Mr. Nourse determined to start for that place at once. He left for Keokuk by stage, and thence to Utica Post Office. The stage driver, Theodore Hohbrecker, in his anxiety to attend a dance at Keosauqua that evening, did not wait for stage connection or anything else, for a dance in those days without a full complement of stage drivers would have been a very tame affair. So to avoid staying one more day on the road, although his fare had been paid, Mr. Nourse concluded to walk to his destination, ten miles away, over muddy roads and with only twenty cents in his pocket.

On arriving at Keosauqua, footsore, mud-be-splashed and

weary, he made anything but a presentable appearance. He made application for board at the house of Mrs. Stannard (mother of ex-Governor Stannard of St. Louis), but she looked upon him with suspicion as there had been a number of horses stolen in the county of late, and in her judgment the applicant for board looked as if he needed a horse more than anything else. He answered all her questions truthfully, but did not fully satisfy her, and though at last she gave a reluctant consent to his staying, he did not accept it, but sought out the Keosauqua House, kept by "Father" Shepherd, which became his home so long as he remained unmarried. During the high water which followed, he traveled from his office to the hotel in a skiff, landed on a couple of benches at the door and climbed to the dining room for meals. Henry Clay Dean was the Methodist preacher at that place in those days. Among others living there were Delazon Smith, Josiah Bonney, James Kennesly who owned the water mill site, Ezra Jones, father-in-law of L. J. Rose who afterwards went to California, and George Duffield who has lived on his beautiful farm overlooking the Des Moines river for more than half a century. Mr. Nourse removed to Des Moines in 1858.

With the telling of the story of the flood at Keosauqua is told, also, that of Bentonsport, Bonaparte, Croton, Athens, Farmington, St. Francisville, and other settlements, for they were also flooded and the inhabitants on the low grounds were compelled to vacate for the time being.

The channel at the river's mouth at that time was more than a mile wide and while nature, with her healing hands, has planted thousands of willows and cottonwoods in the deserted excavations to hide the wounds of that eventful year, a practiced eye can readily mark out the boundary of the flood and imagination can easily picture the thousands of pieces of debris which floated out upon the broad bosom of the Mississippi, entailing a loss upon the pioneer settlers which could never be estimated in sordid dollars and cents.

Some of the counties of Iowa bordering on the Missouri river, especially Monona and Harrison through which the Big and Little Sioux passed, were completely inundated, and the brave pioneers who were seeking homes in that part of Iowa had many watery adventures. In order to give the reader an idea of the waste of waters of that flood year, an extract is given from the "Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur," a French explorer who sought a home in Harrison county:

About the 15th of May [1851], when Mr. Honore Picotte came down from Fort Pierre in a Mackinaw, I embarked with him bound for Sergeant's Bluffs, from which place I intended to go down to my claim by land. We had had a great deal of rain. The Missouri, as well as all other streams, had overflowed their banks, and the bottoms were all inundated. I had to remain about fifteen days at Sergeant's Bluffs waiting for the roads to become practicable. I purchased four Indian ponies, two French carts, and hired a guide at \$2 a day to pilot me through the water, for there was very little dry land to be seen between this and my place. About the last of May or first of June my guide said he thought he could get me through, so we hitched up and started. The fourth day after traveling through mud and water, we reached a place called Silver Lake.* Our ponies were then nearly broken down, although they had not made over 35 miles during the four days. As this was the best part of the road my guide said that it would be impossible for us to reach my place with the carts, that we still had 25 miles to make, "and," said he, "you have not seen anything yet; wait till we get near the ferry." He advised making "horse travailles," which consist of two long poles tied about three feet apart and extending eight or ten feet at the far ends, which drag on the ground, with crossbars fastened to them behind the horse, so as to make a kind of a platform on which plunder is loaded.

The travailles being thus prepared and the children loaded on them, we proceeded on our journey. Having made about 10 miles we camped at Laidlow's grove, which was afterward called Ashton's grove and goes by that name still. We were then 16 miles from my place, which we had to reach next day or camp in the water as there was no dry place to be found. We could have made that distance easily in a half day had the road been good. We rose early, and having placed the children to the best advantage on this kind of conveyance, got under march, not expecting to stop to lunch as there was no fit place. On we went, my guide taking the lead, I behind him leading a pony, and my woman behind me also leading one. The nearer we came to the ferry the deeper the water became and the sun was already approaching the western horizon. Finally it came up to the

*One of the deserted channels of the Missouri river.

armpit of my guide, and the children were dragged almost afloat on their travailles, crying and lamenting, saying, "Father, we will drown—we are going to die in this water—turn back." At times the ponies were swimming, but there was no use of turning back; the timber on the dry land ahead of us was the nearest point; there was nothing to be seen behind us but a sheet of water, and the sun was nearly down. So we pushed on, in spite of the distressing cries of the children, whom we landed safely on dry ground just at dark.

We had not eaten a bite since morning, but the children were so tired, and had been so frightened, that they laid down and, in spite of the mosquitoes which were tremendously bad, went to sleep without asking for supper. This was certainly one of the most distressing days I had ever experienced, but we old folks felt like taking a good cup of coffee after such a day's work. A fire was immediately made, the coffee was soon served, and no time was lost in turning in for the night. The next morning we did not rise very early, but took our time, got up a good breakfast, and then called out for the boatmen. Silas Condit and Amos Chase, both Mormons, the gentlemen of whom I had purchased the place, came to ferry us over, and in a little while I was in my log cabin about 15 feet square. As I had left the carts and my effects at Silver Lake I left the ponies on the other side intending to return next day, but as it seemed impossible to bring my stuff through that deep water with my ponies and carts, I arranged with Mr. Chase to meet me with a yoke of cattle hitched to a large canoe. With that understanding I started next morning with my guide. We pushed the march and arrived at Silver Lake about 10 o'clock at night. Then a tremendous dark cloud arose in the west, and just as we were going to take supper—about the hour of 11—it blew a hurricane, or rather a whirlwind [cyclone], which took our lodge clear up into the air, and then blew the fire into the baggage. It was all we could do to save our plunder, and the lodge we did not find till next day. The latter was so suddenly taken up that we felt like two fools for a moment, not knowing what had become of it. Our supper, as you may say, was good as gone; but, fortunately for us, it was all wind.

The missing articles were hunted up next day, and providentially there came along an acquaintance of Mr. Larpen-teur, with a wagon and four yokes of oxen and a bargain was made to take him to his destination. The baggage and supplies were loaded into the big wagon, and the return trip was made with comparative comfort. The man who had been engaged to meet him with the oxen and the big canoe was met on the way, and, turning back, joined the watery procession. And this was travel and pioneering in Monona and Harrison counties, Iowa, fifty-one years ago. The location

of Mr. Larpenteur's cabin was in Harrison county, two and one-half miles south of the Monona county line. Charles Larpenteur, the explorer and pioneer, died November 15, 1872, and was buried as he requested under a low-spreading red cedar near the site of his old cabin. The grave is marked by a small marble slab, giving name, date of birth and death. The spot is historic and should be carefully cherished by the pioneers of Harrison county.

Fifty-one years ago the sun at intervals peeped through the rifts of watery clouds upon the flooded earth, finding here and there a fruitful field upon the highlands in this sparsely settled State. So he looks down today through the heat of July upon the most productive land of the world; the growing corn in great green waves and the cattle on a thousand hills, hearing in anticipation the hum of the thresher intermingling with the "Harvest Home" song of a happy, prosperous people. Fifty-one years! Is it not reward enough to have lived and wrought in such a glorious State more than half a century?

AN OFFICE FOR ABE LINCOLN.—A correspondent writes us that some citizens have intended to get up a petition to the president, requesting to appoint his co-laborer against Douglas—Abe Lincoln, of Illinois—to a foreign mission. It is thought that this might console him for his defeat, and at the same time show a proper sympathy on the part of the administration for a man who has struggled hard with it to overthrow the Democracy of Illinois. Will the president appoint Abe Lincoln to a foreign mission to make up for his defeat? That is the question.—*Dubuque Express and Herald*, Nov. 10, 1858.

CHAPTERS IN IOWA'S FINANCIAL HISTORY.

BY FRANK I. HERRIOTT, PH. D.

(Concluded from April.)

III.

One does not proceed far in a study of the finance of American states before he discovers the importance of constitutional limitations upon the powers of state legislatures. In the supreme statutes of a majority of the commonwealths the purposes, subjects and methods of taxation have been prescribed with greater or less detail. Above all these and paramount are the limitations of the constitution of the United States and the jurisdiction of the national government. These restrictions have perforce exercised a predominant influence in the financial history of the various states. They have proven rocks of offense and defense. The concurrent and conflicting jurisdictions of state and national governments have again and again put to naught the efforts of those who sought by legislative enactments to improve the methods of assessing and collecting the public revenues. In the constitutional provisions of the states the property rights of individuals, both private and corporate, have almost always found sure and sufficient protection from hostile class legislation and from most forms of adverse discriminations in the assessment of taxes even where the statutes invalidated obviously aimed at the promotion of the public interests.

Adopted, in most cases, forty and fifty years ago, such constitutional limitations were drafted with conditions of industry in contemplation markedly different from those now confronting the law-maker. Their framers scarcely appreciated the nature and tendencies of modern industrial organization. It is not presumptuous to say that they did not anticipate the vast and momentous changes that we have witnessed in recent years. The course of financial legislation consequently has been materially different from what it

would have been but for the interposition of the constitutional guarantees. Yet courts, while they have construed constitutions strictly, and have nullified numerous acts that violated their prohibitions, nevertheless have been considerably influenced by the drift of industry and experience and the pressure of public opinion.

The fact of predominant importance in the history of corporation taxes in Iowa is the provision in the constitution of 1857, section 2, article VIII, which requires that:

"The property of all corporations for pecuniary profit, shall be subject to taxation *the same* as that of individuals."

The general purport of the section appears to be obvious. Yet analysis of its provisions in the light of experience since the adoption of the constitution shows that various constructions can be placed upon its terms. The constitutional debates, strangely enough, afford us little or no light as to the intent of the framers because of the fact that the section met with no opposition in the convention although from the proceedings we do obtain important information as to the interpretation warranted. The constitution of 1846 was silent upon the subject.

But it is easily seen from the discussions that took place upon those sections affecting banks and incorporations generally that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the burdens of local finance. Counties were heavily indebted on account of "Internal Improvements" and railroad construction.* And it is a fair presumption that companies that were promoting manufactures and railroads had been allowed greater or less exemptions from taxation as a part of the inducements offered them to invest their capital in the state and to assist in the upbuilding of ambitious communities. The excessive burdens which counties took upon themselves and the disappointments here and there over the material results naturally created the disposition to subject them to taxation. It was with a view to putting a stop to the inju-

* See Constitutional Debates, volume I, pp. 290-300, 307, 314, 330.

dicious exemptions and relief of corporations from tax burdens and insuring equal and uniform taxation of corporations as with private persons, that the convention adopted that section of the constitution.*

Its provisions, *prima facie* require and guarantee the universal application of the General Property tax in the assessment of corporations. Property, real and personal, was no doubt assumed by the framers of the constitution to be the best general standard for measuring the ability of citizens and corporations to contribute to the support of government. Such was the general theory and practice of taxation in the State prior to that time.

But closer examination of the section shows that the language is not exclusive; it does not compel the legislature to bring all its enactments within a particular mode or kind of tax. There were in force at the time the constitutional convention was in session, sundry sorts of taxes on corporations, to which we have referred already, of which we may presume the convention took cognizance and did not deem undesirable. It is apparent that the terms of the section do not prohibit license taxes or the taxation of occupations, privileges or incomes if the legislature should see fit to impose them. Moreover, while the property of corporations must be subjected to taxation if the property of private citizens is so subject, there is no limitation whatever upon the power of the legislature to take various methods, however unlike they may be, for determining the value of corporate property subject to assessment; they may be arbitrary and in practical effect very inequitable yet they are permissible if the act is not local or special in character and its provisions apply uniformly to all persons within the class or industry defined by the statute.

These conclusions are not only warranted by the language of the constitution but they are the necessary inferences

* See observations of Justice Beck in *City of Dubuque vs. The Illinois Central Railroad Co.*, 39 Iowa, p. 69, and also those of Justice Cole, *Ibid*, pp. 97-98.

from the very important fact that the convention refused to include in the section the limitation first proposed by the committee on incorporations, namely, that "their property shall be liable to taxation *in the same manner as natural persons.*" So far as the writer knows the vital significance of that omission has been little considered, either in the opinions rendered by the courts or in the public discussions relating to the effect of the provision adopted. *

The courts of Iowa have been called upon many times to pass on the meaning and define the scope of the provision of section 2, of article VIII. The earlier decisions, although the bench that handed them down was not always unanimous, have been continuously reaffirmed. So that while one finds in the first opinions here and there some-

* On January 26, 1857, Mr. James F. Wilson, delegate from Jefferson county, afterwards one of Iowa's distinguished representatives and senators at Washington, introduced a resolution in the convention instructing the committee on incorporations "to inquire into the expediency of amending the 8th article of the constitution by adding thereto the following section:

"Section —, That the property of corporations now existing, or hereafter created shall forever be subjected to taxation, the same as property of individuals." *Constitutional Debates*, p. 38.

This was agreed to and on January 30th the following was reported and proposed as section 2:

"Corporations may sue and be sued, and their property shall be liable to taxation in the same manner as natural persons; and the liabilities, powers, privileges, and duties of stockholders in corporations may be fixed and defined by law, subject to the provisions hereof." *Ibid*, p. 96.

This was amended on February 6th by substituting "the" for "their" before "property" and after it inserting "of all corporations for pecuniary profit." (p. 289). On February 12th, Mr. Wilson moved the reference of the entire article to a select committee. This committee reported February 23d, recommending that all the first clause and all of the third beginning with "and the liabilities" be stricken out and the following substituted for the clause relative to this taxation of corporations:

"The property of all corporations for pecuniary profit, now existing or hereafter created, shall forever be subject to taxation, the same as property of individuals." (p. 648).

When the report came up February 25th Mr. Wilson moved the adoption of the section as proposed by the select committee. His motion was lost by a vote of 7 to 11 (pp. 779-780). This matter was, however, reconsidered (p. 785). The section was again reported March 4th by the committee on revision as amended by the select committee (p. 1022). But the committee to which the entire constitution was referred for critical examination prior to enrollment and signing cut out "now existing or hereafter created" and "forever" giving the present section (p. 1054).

In 1899 Attorney General Milton Remley in his argument on behalf of the State (pp. 7-8) in the case of *The Hawkeye Ins. Co. vs. French*, pointed out the omission just noted and insisted upon its vital importance in construing the section.

what of confusion in the lines of argument there has long been complete agreement as to the force and effect of the provisions of the section.

The very wide range of the power of the legislature with respect to methods for fixing or arriving at the assessable value of corporate property was clearly announced in a decision given by the court in 1869. In 1868, the legislature enacted the law, already noted, whereby express and telegraph companies were assessed on forty per cent of their receipts. It was resisted on the ground that it was arbitrary in the extreme, that assessors did not assess the real value of the company's property or so much as attempt to do so as in the case of individual property, and further that it was in effect a tax on income and not a tax on property. Justice Cole, speaking for the court, in the *U. S. Express Co. vs. Ellyson*, observed:

It must be borne in mind that we have not in this State, as they have in Wisconsin, a constitutional provision declaring that the "rule of taxation shall be uniform." Nor, as in Ohio declaring "that laws shall be passed taxing, by uniform rule, all moneys, credits, investments in bonds, stocks, joint stock companies, or otherwise; also all real and personal property according to its true value in money."

A careful reading of the law in controversy must discover to every candid mind, that it simply subjects the property of express and telegraph companies to taxation, and prescribes a rule (arbitrary, or even unreasonable it may be) whereby the amount of that property shall be ascertained, to-wit: forty per cent of the gross receipts within the particular taxing district, from its business during the preceding year.

The court refuses to consider the objection that the tax is upon income, holding "in our view of the law, as above expressed, it only imposes a tax upon property, and prescribes the means of ascertaining the amount of it—the method of assessing it."*

There united in that opinion Justices John F. Dillon, Geo. G. Wright, and James E. Beck—the strongest bench Iowa ever has had. Their holding with respect to the power of the general assembly to take various methods for assessment has been reaffirmed many times, notably in *Du-*

* 28 Iowa, pp. 377, 379, 380.

buque vs. C. D. & M. R. Co. (47 Iowa 196); *Central Ia. R. Co. vs. Bd. of Supervisors* (67-199); *Primghar State Bank vs. Rerick* (96-238); and *Hawkeye Ins. Co. vs. French* (109-585). In the latter case, decided in 1899, the language of Justice Deemer is explicit upon this point:

We are not to be understood as questioning the right of the legislature to adopt different methods for ascertaining values, adapted to the various peculiarities of the property, or its right to fix the *situs* of property, both real and personal, although, in the exercise of such rights, inequalities must, of necessity, result.

In the Ellyson case the court plainly declared that it was within the power of the general assembly not only to prescribe the conditions and methods of assessment for taxation but also to predetermine value regardless of the fluctuations of circumstances that between buyer and seller in the market influence prices and values. It is not necessary under that decision that assessors should exercise their individual judgment and be given discretion to adjust valuations to such fluctuations.

The extent to which uniformity of taxation is enjoined by the constitution, the real meaning of uniformity and the latitude allowed the legislature in imposing other taxes than the general property tax were outlined by the court in 1870 in the case of *Warren vs. Henly* (31-31), Justice Beck in the course of his opinion, saying:

They [taxes] must be uniform. By this I understand that they must not be imposed alone, nor unequally, upon particular individuals or classes. This rule, however, I understand, is applicable generally to the *principle or plan* of taxation, and not to specific or particular taxes. It means that all individuals and all classes shall be uniformly taxed. It does not mean that certain particular taxes, as income taxes, licenses, specific taxes upon certain property used as instruments of profit, or articles of luxury, shall be prohibited. These are not uniform in one sense; that is, all do not pay them. They are and must be uniform in another sense; that is, all possessing particular incomes, exercising certain business, and owning the specified property, must be subject to the same tax. They are again not uniform in another sense, for under them the burden of taxation is not uniformly borne. All incomes may not be taxed; those of a certain amount may be exempt; licenses may not be imposed upon the exercise

of all branches of business, and all articles of property used for profit or luxury may not be specifically taxed. The rule means that all individuals and all classes must contribute uniformly with like individuals and like classes to the burden of taxation. The manner of imposing this burden must, of necessity, be left to the discretion of the legislative branch of the government. That a tax or a system of taxation may not bear equally upon all, when weighed in the nicest balance of equity and justice, is no reason for holding that it conflicts with the fundamental and essential rule under consideration.*

In 1899 in the case of *The Scottish Union and National Insurance Company vs. John Herriott, Treasurer of State*, in holding valid the differential state tax on the premium income of foreign insurance companies doing business in Iowa, the court, while conceding that the statute might be subject to attack if it assumed to give the state treasury exclusively the proceeds of a tax on the property of such companies, held very decidedly that any kind or degree of tax on business, or on the privileges of engaging in business in the state was permissible under Iowa's constitution. The court further held that it is not required that the tax should be "uniform" in the sense that it should be universally assessed at the same time upon all lines of business, or upon all business rights or privileges. It is competent for the legislature to discriminate or to classify and impose business or license taxes upon such lines of industry or privileges as public policy may indicate to be desirable.†

IV.

It is when we come to study the development of state and local taxation in Iowa that we discover the far-reaching importance of the second section of article VIII. In many respects the chief controversies that have been waged in the courts—at any rate those in which the tax-payers took the keenest interest—have related to its effect upon the rights or powers of minor civil divisions in the assessment and taxation of the property of corporations within the local taxing

* See 31 Iowa, pp. 39-40.

† 109 Iowa, p. 613.

areas. In the earlier laws, as we have seen, the legislature to a greater or less extent denied, at least apparently intended to deny, to cities, towns and townships the right to levy taxes upon certain classes of corporations, reserving such right, or the benefit of the taxes, to the State entirely, or to the State and counties jointly. This restriction on local taxation in a short time became a cause of complaint, particularly in the older and larger cities in the eastern portion of the State. Dubuque, Clinton, Davenport, Muscatine and Burlington became, after 1860, centers of railroad traffic. They soon possessed large and valuable railroad properties, which were entitled to police and fire protection as was the property of private citizens. The law of 1862 which exempted railroads from local assessment was therefore felt by local taxpayers to be unjust.

Despite the prohibition the local authorities of Davenport ignored its provisions and proceeded to assess the personal as well as the real property of the railroad within their jurisdiction. They contended that the act providing for a tax on the gross earnings of railroads related simply to county and State taxes and did not abrogate the prior statutory provisions authorizing cities to levy on all properties within their bounds; and further that it was unconstitutional, as in a case brought by the city in 1859 in an attempt to assess non-resident holders of mortgage bonds given by the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad the supreme court declared that the constitutional guarantee required that the burden of taxation should be "borne equally by all"; the property of one is liable to the same extent as that of another; of corporations like that of individuals. *

The city was successful in the lower court, and in the supreme court, by reason of an equal division of the bench, the decision was affirmed without the issue being clearly decided. The bearing of section 2, article VIII, was only incidentally noted but not considered.† In 1869 the court,

* The City of Davenport vs. The M. & M. R. R. Co. (12-539).

† The City of Davenport vs. The M. & M. R. R. Co. (16-348).

reaffirmed, but again with dissent, the right of cities to tax corporate properties notwithstanding the companies had paid the tax on their gross earnings to the State; the court, however, avoided passing upon the constitutional question.* It was not until 1874 that the effect of the provision in the matter of State *versus* local taxation was announced in the case of the *City of Davenport vs. The C., R. I. & P. R. R. Co.* (38-633). The legislature in enacting the law of 1872 providing for the present method of assessing railroads had exempted them from the payment of all local levies assessed previous to the passage of the act.† That exemption was resisted by the cities on the ground that the constitution required that corporations should pay the same taxes upon their property that private individuals sustained upon their property. The court declared (with dissent however), that "each shall be taxed for the same objects, and in the same degree, so that individuals shall not be required to pay any taxes on *their property* which are not also assessed and laid upon the *property of corporations* of the class named, nor in any greater proportion." (38-644).

In another case decided at the same term, the *City of Dubuque vs. The Illinois Central R. R.* (39-97), Justice Cole dissented from this view (as he had in each preceding case),[‡] holding that "the manifest purpose and intent of the section is, to place the property of corporations just like the property of individuals, completely within the legislative power for the purposes of taxation; so that the legislature could use the same authority and discretion in the enactment of laws for the taxation of the property of corporations, as it could use in the enactment of laws for the taxation of the property of individuals. . . . The sole practical effect of the section is, to clothe the legislature with the authority to subject to taxation the property of corporations, although

* The Dunleith & Dubuque Bridge Co. *vs.* the City of Dubuque (32-427).

† Laws of 1872, chapter 26, section 9.

by the terms of their charters previously granted, they were exempted from taxation."

In other words under the majority opinion exclusive State taxes were held to be contrary to the constitution. The same burdens, the full weight of each and all tax levies ordered in every community, must fall upon the property of all corporations within the taxing district that fall upon manufacturers, merchants or house-owners within the same district. It is not competent for the legislature to deny to local authorities the power to compel resident corporations to contribute equally with private citizens to the support of local government according to the value of their property. The rulings in these cases were reaffirmed in 1899 in the case of *The Hawkeye Ins. Co. vs. French* (109-585), when the State tax on domestic insurance companies was pronounced invalid.

The same question from a somewhat different point of view was considered in another leading case arising under the law of 1872. By that act the value of a railroad was to be ascertained and fixed by the census board, since known as the executive council. The officers of the roads were required to report the value of all the miscellaneous properties of their roads, as well as the value of their road bed and rolling stock, to the State board. The council was then required to place a value on the property. But the value so fixed was not certified back to the local tax officers of each county along the line of the road in proportion to the actual or reported value of the property within each local taxing district. The assessed value of all the properties of the entire road in the State was "lumped" and then parceled or "spread out" through urban and rural districts equally according to their single track mileage. Under this method the great values found in the cities were extended to the country districts and the taxable properties of the cities were by so much reduced. This arbitrary apportionment of the railroad values of the State was forthwith contested by the cities on the ground that in reducing their valuations within the corporate limits

railroads were relieved at the expense of private tax-payers. The court was much divided. The majority, however, sustained the law, following the ruling in *U. S. Express vs. Ellyson* (28-370): The legislature had determined the *situs* of railway property and prescribed the method for its valuation and upon the assessment all local taxes were to be levied. There was, in their opinion, no denial of the right to tax railroads locally. The fact that there was a distribution of values, whereby the rural districts gained at the expense of the urban communities was an inequity that was an unavoidable incident of the method adopted, but it did not render the law invalid.

One experiences no little perplexity in following the tortuous courses of judicial opinion in construing the constitutional provision governing the taxation of corporations in Iowa. And the more one studies the several decisions and the circumstances of each case, the more the conviction grows that the court gave heed more to the inequalities locally experienced under the statutes in controversy, against which there was great popular protest, than to what was a fair and reasonable construction of the law and the constitution. This seemed to have been particularly true of all the cases involving the law of 1872, except the last. The court has derived two constructions from language that one may fairly presume meant one of two things but not both. The vital clause of section 2, article VIII, "Shall be subject to taxation the same as that of individuals," has been held to mean sameness of tax burdens and variety in methods of assessment, a construction that seems arbitrary. If the words, *the same*, on which the whole matter turns, do not mean and do not enjoin that precisely the same methods shall be pursued in assessing corporate property and in collecting the taxes levied that are authorized in the taxation of individuals, it is difficult to perceive wherein they command that precisely the same burdens shall fall upon corporate and private property. For either conclusion the premises are the same and it would

seem that they should compel the same construction, be it as to methods of taxation or as to the benefits or results. The nature of the changes made in the section in the constitutional convention, and the fact that during the debates there was no sign of opposition to the method of taxing railroads and insurance companies then pursued, tend strongly to justify the conclusion of Justice Cole and the contention of Attorney General Remley, that the intent of the constitutional convention was simply to bring corporations within legislative authority and prohibit their exemption from taxation; that it is competent for the legislature to determine not only whether they shall be taxed in one way or another, but whether the State or the local taxing power, or both, shall obtain the proceeds of the taxes assessed. If the method adopted proves unsatisfactory in practice, whether because the taxes collected are insufficient, or because they are inequitably assessed, the remedy is within legislative discretion; the rate of tax can be increased or the method and machinery for assessment improved and made more effective.

The practical consequences flowing from the construction placed upon the constitution in the matter of State and local taxation have been of the utmost importance in the history of the State. It is not an exaggeration to say that no other one thing has been so potent in obstructing improvement in Iowa's revenue laws as the view of the court just outlined. It has been an effectual barrier to the divorcement of State and local sources of revenue. When we consider the very serious and constantly recurring inequalities in the burdens borne by the counties with respect to State taxes due to the constant efforts of each county to escape a part of its share by under-valuation in local assessments, it may well be doubted if the cities and townships did not achieve a costly victory in the decisions nullifying the exclusive State taxes on corporations.

V.

In several other respects the courts have played a prominent part in the history of the development of corporation taxes in Iowa. The first act levying a tax on the capital stock of national banks was declared void because the tax was assessed against securities of the federal government exempt from taxation,* and the legislature was forced, in 1868, to follow the course of New York and other states and assess banks upon the shares of their capital stock.† Numerous attempts to tax United States bonds have since been defeated by the courts. With the exception of the cases affecting the construction of section 2 of article VIII the most important line of decisions relate to the taxability of corporate property, shares of stock and surplus funds, and to the deduction of corporate and individual indebtedness in the assessment of corporations and shareholders.

In the earlier decisions of the court strong disapproval was expressed respecting the simultaneous taxation of both the property of corporations and the shares of capital stock, on the ground that it was double taxation. In *Tallman vs. Treasurer of Butler Co.*, it was held that the tax on the shares of stock of railroads was the only tax assessable on such property under the code of 1851, and all attempts to tax the real estate were defeated,‡ and in the case of the *United States Express Company vs. Ellyson*, while not denying the possible legality of double taxation, the court observed that it is "so unjust as naturally to excite the disfavor of both courts and legislators."|| But in 1882 in *Cook vs. The City of Burlington*, the court expressly held that "duplicate taxation" was not only not "in excess of the legislative power" but that no injustice was necessarily inflicted on corporate undertakings when both the property of the companies and the shares of

* See *Hubbard vs. Board of Supervisors of Johnson Co.*, 23 Iowa p. 130.

† Laws of Iowa, 1868, chapter 153; and the case of *Morseman vs. Younkin*, 27 Iowa p. 350.

‡ See 12 Iowa, p. 531.

|| See 28 Iowa, p. 378.

stock were made liable for taxation.* The corporation and the shareholders are separate and distinct persons, just as are mortgagor and mortgagee, and the value of their several holdings depends upon clearly defined and different foundations. Any other view, it was declared, "would open the door into a sea of troubles in the administration of the revenue laws of the State."

As regards the nature of shares of stock in considering their liability for assessment the supreme court has reversed its first rulings. In 1887 in *Bridgman vs. The City of Keokuk*,† shares of stock were declared to be not "credits" in the hands of holders, or "debts" owing by the corporation to the shareholders, but they were classifiable as ordinary property; and owners were denied the right to deduct indebtedness therefrom in making their returns to the assessors. The year following in the notable case of the *Equitable Life Insurance Co. vs. The Board of Equalization of Des Moines*, the court squarely held that shares of stock represented a debt of the company to its shareholders which could be deducted from the amount of the company's moneys and credits. And the value of the shares which may be deducted, represent the total assets of a company, not only the capital stock but the surplus, undivided profits, and reserve funds. In the case of insurance companies policies of insurance in force were further declared to be obligations that came within the deductible debts.‡ The effect of the court's decision in this case was to relieve Iowa domestic or local insurance companies from taxation; and they enjoyed immunity from tax burdens until the recodification of 1897. In 1892 the supreme court went a step farther and held in the case of the *First National Bank of Albia vs. The City Council of Albia*, that shares of stock in the hands of holders were

* See 59 Iowa, p. 251.

† See 72 Iowa, p. 42.

‡ See 74 Iowa, p. 178. See also *Campbell vs. Centerville*, 69 Iowa, p. 439; *Iowa State Savings Bank vs. Burlington*, 98 Iowa, p. 737; and *Ottumwa Savings Bank vs. Ottumwa*, 95 Iowa, p. 176.

"credits" from which "debts" owing by the holder could be deducted by him in making his returns to the assessor.*

VI.

The history of corporation taxes in Iowa to be complete should indicate not only the course of actual legislation and the drift of judicial decisions but exhibit the growth of public discussion and opinion which, as a rule, gives impetus to the enactment of laws and influences more or less the views of courts. It is almost, if not fully, as important to know the character and extent of such popular discussion, the theories or views most current and most urgently pressed on legislative consideration, even if the advocates failed to secure the favor of the predominant party, as it is to know the measures finally agreed upon. Laws are so frequently compromises between conflicting forces or interests, or mere make-shifts passed to meet a political exigency, that unless we know the nature of public discussion prior to statutory enactments we will not always appreciate their real historical significance.

We find two well-marked periods in the development of corporation taxes in Iowa within which the subject aroused widespread public interest, the workings of the existing laws were subjected to much scrutiny and various reforms were advocated with considerable emphasis. The first period ranges from 1862 to 1873. The second begins about 1890 and continues down to 1902. The two periods differed somewhat with respect to the character of the public discussion prevailing in each.

During the first period there was, as compared with the second, comparatively little consideration of the merits of the various methods of taxing corporations. In 1862 it was proposed that railroads should be taxed locally as other property,[†] but the law taxing them on their gross earnings was

* See §6 Iowa, p. 28.

† See bill introduced by Mr. T. H. Stanton described in editorial in Iowa State Register, Feb. 12, 1862.

adopted. This law was simply the basis or starting point for a more animated discussion. There was soon apparent, particularly in the eastern counties, a general feeling that railroads were not contributing as much revenue as other classes of property.* The reservation to the State and county treasuries of the taxes paid by railroads, as we have seen, produced great complaint. The demand that railroad and other corporate property be subjected to the same local burdens that private citizens were was steadily and unceasingly pressed. This demand was urged the more strongly in some of the counties because of the heavy burdens of indebtedness which they had assumed to aid in the construction of the railroads which, in many cases, had not been completed as promised. The complaints on this score were so serious that repudiation was attempted in several instances and an appeal for relief was made to the legislature. In the legislative debates in 1870 the statute denying cities the right to tax railroads was roundly denounced.† The decisions of the supreme court, outlined in a preceding section, forced the subject upon the legislature.

The local taxation of corporations thus became the main objective of public discussion. From the nature of the local contests and the drift of judicial opinion the general property tax was advocated as a matter of course. The railroads owned large amounts of real estate in the cities. Private citizens were taxed on their real and personal property and the logic of the situation seemed to require that corporations be likewise taxed on their shops, machinery, depots and yards. The relative advantages of the different methods of corporate taxation were discussed to some extent in the debates in 1870 but generally speaking the matter of chief interest was the local taxation of the property of such corporations rather than the manner in which such property should be valued for the purposes of taxation.‡ There was a serious

* See report of Treasurer of State, 1870, p. 13.

† See Des Moines Bulletin, Legislative Supplement, No. 30, for March 7, 1870.

‡ Ibid, Nos. 37, 43, 48, 51-54.

effort made to secure the adoption of the Illinois law of 1853 under which the property of railroads was assessed by local assessors.* The result of the agitation was the passage of the act imposing a graduated tax on the gross earnings of the railroads.†

But the adjustment was not very satisfactory, and public interest continued. The decision of the supreme court in the Dunleith and Dubuque Bridge Co. case, in which the right of cities to tax corporations, regardless of legislative prohibition, was conceded, precipitated matters. The railroad managers were forced to urge legislation to protect their properties from what may be deemed excessive local assessments.‡ Valuation of their property was admitted but they urged assessments by a state board, uniformity in valuation, and the equal distribution of their valuation on a mileage basis. This was vigorously opposed by the representatives of the cities.¶ But the railroads enlisted the support of the representatives of the agricultural interests because the law proposed by them apportioned to the rural townships values actually in city areas. Feeling was evidently intense for in the legal battle which followed the attorneys for the cities boldly and bluntly charged that the law was passed by the influence of a corrupt lobby,§ and Judge Beck in his dissenting opinion gives countenance to the charges.¶

In the first period one occasionally finds evidence that some consideration was given the matter of the incidence of taxes placed on railroads. When the first discussion arose in 1862 the opponents of "radical" legislation dwelt on the unwisdom of placing heavy burdens on railroads then in the process of building extensions for the reason that their taxes would by so much retard the completion or extension

* Ibid, No. 37, and Iowa Senate Journal, 1870, pp. 160, 224.

† Laws of 1870, chapter 106.

‡ See argument of Mr. Thos. Withrow on rehearing in *Dubuque vs. C., D. & M. R. Co.* (Abstracts and Arguments, vol. 91).

¶ See protest of John H. Gear and others, House Journal, March 13, 1872, pp. 424-5.

§ See petition for rehearing in *Dubuque vs. C., D. & M. R. Co.*

¶ 47 Iowa, p. 204.

of the roads.* Later when the regulation of traffic rates became such a vital issue it was frequently urged that unless the legislature superimposed definite tariff schedules it would be fruitless to enact a tax measure as the railroads would simply increase their freight and passenger rates and recoup themselves for the taxes they might be compelled to pay.†

Although the general property tax was adopted for railroads in 1872 we find in the first inaugural address of Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter a noteworthy recommendation that entitles him to more than honorable mention in the financial history of the State. He urged the taxation of the "franchise" as the most satisfactory basis for determining the just taxable valuation of railroads. His is the first state paper in which we find any other method of assessment than the general property tax suggested. His language is worth quoting. After pointing out that it is not feasible to adapt the "same mode of assessment" to railroads that is "applied to the assessment of private property," he says: "The value of "a railroad is evidently not in its right of way, embankments, "masonry, bridges, ties, iron, machinery, locomotives, cars, "buildings, &c., &c., but in the essential franchise, and the "value of this franchise is dependent upon dividends."‡ The legislature adopted Governor Carpenter's recommendation relative to the method of assessing railroads but not his suggestion urging that the value of the franchise be taken as the basis for valuation.

Between 1872 and the beginning of what is here designated as the second period, beginning about 1890, there were a number of official recommendations that should be noted as sort of landmarks in the progress of public opinion.

In 1875 Mr. Buren R. Sherman in his report as auditor of state called attention to the escape from taxation of telegraph, telephone, fast freight, and Pullman car companies,

* See editorial Iowa State Register, Feb. 12, 1862.

† Ibid, Feb. 17, 1872; also, Iowa Homestead and Western Farm Journal, Feb. 23, 1872.

‡ See Governor Carpenter's inaugural, 1872, p. 20.

and the impracticability of their taxation by local authorities, and he advocated convincingly the supervision of their assessment by the State board.* His suggestions were commended by Governor C. C. Carpenter in 1876,† and by Governor J. G. Newbold in 1878‡ with the effect that the legislature, as already pointed out, placed the assessment of such companies under the State's executive council. Later, in 1886, when Mr. Sherman became governor, he strongly urged the entire divorcement of State and local sources of taxation and the support of the State government from corporation taxes, chiefly from railroads.||

The first suggestion of the advisability of separating State and local sources of revenue, so far as the writer can discover, was made by Mr. John H. Ames in 1878, in a paper in *The Western Jurist* (Vol. XII, p. 152), published at Des Moines, entitled "The Taxation of Real Property and Corporations." He advocated the plan adopted in Pennsylvania as the most effective method of abolishing the evils of undervaluation. In the discussion preceding the appointment of the revenue commission in 1892 this plan was again urged.§

In 1887 Governor William Larrabee, as a member of the executive council, urged that body to adopt net earnings as the basis for determining the aggregate valuation of the railroads of the State, proposing that the earnings be capitalized at the current interest rate. His resolution was not adopted. Its introduction, however, led to an increase in the assessed value of such property.¶

In the senate that year Senator C. H. Gatch of Des Moines introduced a measure providing for a general "franchise" tax on corporations.** The tax he proposed was to be

* See report of auditor of state, 1875, p. 7; also report for 1877, p. 8.

† See Gov. C. C. Carpenter's message, 1876, p. 4.

‡ Gov. J. G. Newbold's message, 1878, p. 6.

|| See Gov. Buren R. Sherman's message, 1886, pp. 4-5.

§ See article on "Tax Reform," *Homestead*, vol. 38, p. 121, Feb. 5, 1892.

¶ See Record of Proceedings of the executive council, March 7, 1887.

** See senate file 20, session 1888.

a tax on the capital of a company collectible only when it was organized, or applied for a renewal of its articles of incorporation or amended them. It was not such a tax as Gov. Carpenter advocated in 1872, or as was recently adopted in New York on the recommendation of Governor Roosevelt. In most respects Senator Gatch's franchise tax was simply an incorporation fee or license tax. The measure encountered strenuous opposition and failed to pass not only in 1888 but again in 1890 and again in 1892.*

Meantime public discussion of the problem of taxation was increasing. It culminated in the appointment of the revenue commission in 1892. Then began the agitation for reform in corporate taxation that has been more or less persistent from that time down to the present. The methods of raising revenue then in force were generally conceded to be "burdensome, unequal and unfair" and there was a vigorous demand for some system of taxation that would command "the respect and confidence of the people."† Public discussion has been widespread and for the most part enlightening. Methods have been presented and considered with considerable vigor in official papers and in the press of the State. Questions of the incidence and industrial effect of different methods of assessment have been debated as well as their fiscal benefits or efficiency as financial measures. Interest in these matters has been at times very keen, influencing the drift of political opinion and party action.

The revenue commission in their report in 1893 recommended the franchise tax advocated by Senator Gatch and also a general corporation tax for ordinary business corporations. The method of assessment urged was their valuation upon the basis of the market value of their shares of stock and the collection of the taxes levied through the corporations.‡ They recommended the taxation of telegraph, tele-

* In 1896 a law was passed providing for the collection of such a fee. See chapter 98, laws 1896.

† Preamble of the act creating the revenue commission, chapter 72, laws 24th G. A.

‡ See report of revenue commission, pp. 15, 31-37.

phone and express companies upon their gross receipts from business "originating and terminating in this State," at the uniform rate of three per cent. Insurance and guarantee companies likewise were to be taxed three per cent of their premiums. The taxes collected were to be "in lieu of all other State and local," and were to be paid into the State treasury for the use of the State.* There were no material changes advocated in the taxation of railroads with the exception that "for the purpose of assisting the executive council to more fully determine the actual value of the property of railroads" more detailed information was required of their officers in their annual reports with regard to their capital stock, operating expenses and their earnings.†

One member of the commission, Col. Charles A. Clark of Cedar Rapids, urged the commission to recommend the taxation of railroads upon the basis of their net earnings. The writer has before him a manuscript copy of the bill proposed by Col. Clark in which capitalization of net earnings was the method of arriving at the valuation. Where a road extended outside the State he would have pursued the "unit" plan of assessment. Col. Clark, however, did not file his views as a minority report.

The commission did not make these recommendations in their formal report and give a resume of their reasons for urging their adoption, but simply incorporated them in a draft of a law which they submitted along with the report. Their proposed law met with decided and successful opposition; but the debates made clear not only the need of a thoroughgoing reform in the principles and procedure of taxation, but also the need for a general overhauling of the statutes and a code commission was authorized to revise and recodify all the laws.‡ The code commission in their report and "proposed revision," made in 1896, included nearly all

* See report of revenue commission, pp. 47-50.

† Ibid, pp. 50-53.

‡ See chapter 115, laws 1894.

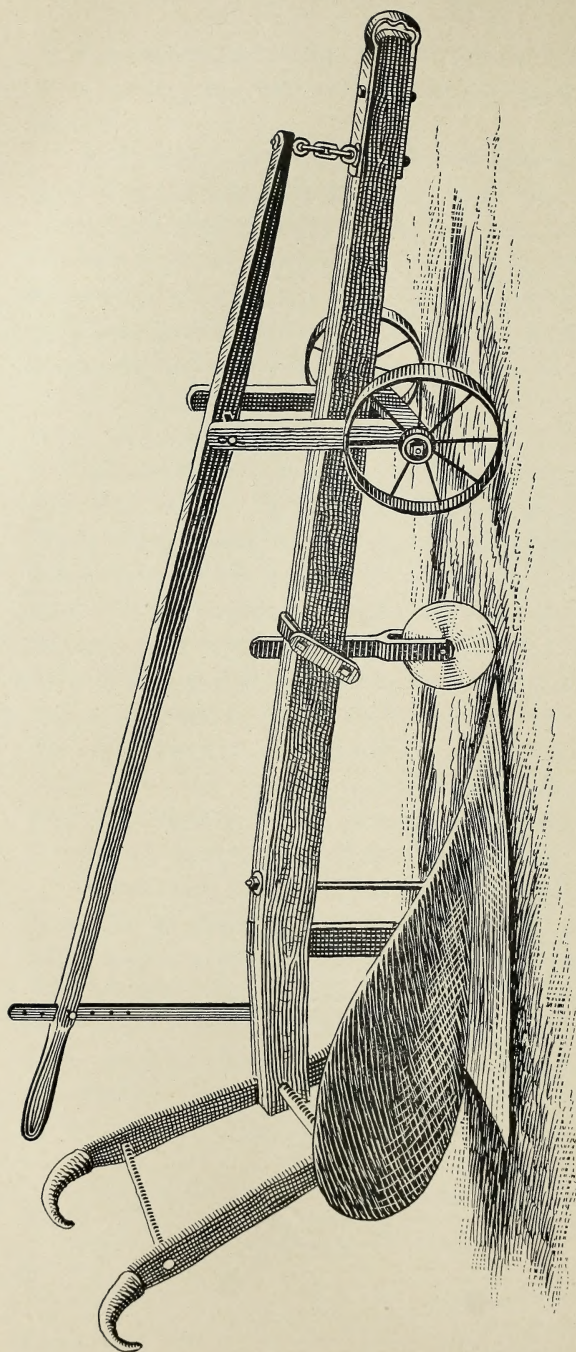
of the recommendations of the revenue commission, which were enacted into law at the extra session of the assembly in 1897.*

The method proposed for the assessment of general business corporations aroused the chief opposition. Assessment upon market value of capital stock, and solely through the corporations, was considered a "radical" departure from the traditional practice of the State. Among the many measures considered, those relating to the taxation of loan and trust companies and building and loan associations elicited vigorous discussion. At that session the policy of discriminating between United States and foreign insurance companies was adopted. Another measure proposed at that session was that offered by Senator Thomas A. Cheshire of Des Moines, proposing to tax express, telegraph and telephone companies, palace, dining, sleeping and chair car companies upon the market value of their stock and bonds less the value of any realty taxed locally. Where their lines or operations extended beyond the State they were to be assessed as units and that proportion of the entire valuation taken for assessment that the mileage in Iowa bore to the entire mileage of the systems. The bill reproduced the Indiana law.† It failed to pass in the senate, but was introduced in the house and passed; the senate, however, would not concur.

Notwithstanding the changes wrought in the methods of corporate taxation by the recodification of 1897, public discussion of the subject did not lessen, but increased. This was due chiefly to three causes: (1) Litigation involving the taxation of insurance companies; (2) Agitation for the taxation of corporations controlling communication and transportation upon the market value of their stock and bonds; and, (3) Controversies over the assessment of railroads.

* See report of code commission, 1896, pp. 48-50, and proposed revision, title VII, sections 19-25; also code, 1897, sections 1323-46.

† See Senate Journal, extra session, 1897, pp. 519, 550.



AN OLD-TIME IOWA BREAKING-PLOW.

This cut gives a fair semblance of one of these ancient implements, though few in use in the fifties were as smoothly made. One in the Historical Museum has a wooden mould-board, a "lay" or "shear" from the anvil of the local blacksmith, with cow-horn handles. Mr. Coffin describes the old breaking-plow so accurately that the reader, with the aid of this engraving, will readily understand its parts and how it was operated.

BREAKING PRAIRIE.

BY HON. L. S. COFFIN.

How few of our people who have been residents of Iowa during the last quarter of the last century, either by immigration or by birth, have any conception of the meaning of the expression, "breaking prairie!" The old prairie breaking-plow has disappeared from sight as completely as the elk and the buffalo. So true is this, that the authorities of our State Agricultural College have been hunting for one for the museum of that institution, as an object-lesson and a reminder to their students of the days and ways of early farm life on the prairies, of which they know very little or nothing.

Let us permit the old "breaking-plow" to stand in its wide furrow of 20 to 32 inches, a few minutes, while we digress far enough from our subject to wish it were possible that another object-lesson could be laid before the students of our grand institution of learning at Ames. That object-lesson, if my wish could be realized, would be an average 100-acre New England farm, as it was fifty to seventy years ago, and as it is to-day, with all its appliances, laid down there near the college farm. The young and middle-aged people of this State, who have been born in Iowa and live on its rockless, hilless, stumpless and matchless soil, have but little realizing sense of the incomparable advantages they have in being residents of such a State.

It is the custom with many of the graduates of our institutions of learning, to spend a year or more abroad. I could wish that the graduates from the agricultural course could go to some of the New England states and work a year or so on some of those farms. The benefit would be almost incalculable. But we cannot now take the time to explain how and why. To many of the farmers of Iowa, who were New England born, no explanation is needed.

But to return to the old prairie breaking-plow which we

left standing in the furrow. How shall I introduce the younger readers of THE ANNALS OF IOWA to it? I hope its editor may be able to secure a picture of a real *bona fide* old prairie breaking-plow.* All attempts to present a word picture of it must fail to give any person who has never seen one a true idea of the real thing. These plows, as a rule, were very large. They were made to cut and turn a furrow from twenty to thirty inches wide and sometimes even wider. The beam was a straight stick of strong timber seven to twelve feet long. The forward end of this beam was carried by a pair of trucks or wheels, and into the top of the axle of these wheels were framed two stout, upright pieces just far enough apart to allow the forward end of the plow-beam to nicely fit in between them. To the forward end of the beam and on top of it, there was fastened by a link or clevis, a long lever, running between these stout standards in the axle of the trucks, and fastened to them by a strong bolt running through both standards and lever; this bolt, acting as a fulcrum for the lever, was in easy reach of the man having charge of the plow. By raising or depressing the rear end of this lever the depth of the furrow was gauged, and by depressing the lever low enough, the plow could be thrown entirely out of the ground. One of the wheels of the truck ran in the furrow and was from two to four inches larger than the one that ran on the sod. This, of course, was necessary so as to have an even level rest for the forward end of the plow-beam. The mould-boards of these plows were sometimes made of wood protected by narrow strips of steel or band-iron, and fastened to the mould-board. In some cases these mould-boards were made entirely of iron rods, which generally gave the best satisfaction. The share of these plows—"shear," as we western folks called it—had to be made of the very best steel so as to carry a keen edge. The original prairie sod was one web of small tough roots, and hence the necessity of a razor-

*The reader will observe that Farmer Coffin's request has received due attention.

like edge on the "shear" to secure good work and ease to the team.

And next, the "prairie-breaking" plow team? Who sees the like of it today? A string of from three to six yokes of oxen hitched to this long plow-beam, the driver clad in somewhat of a cowboy style, and armed with a whip, the handle of which resembled a long, slender fishing-rod, with a lash that when wielded by an expert was so severe that the oxen had learned to fear it as much as the New England oxen did the Yankee ox-goad with its brad.

The season for "breaking prairie" varied as the spring and summer were early or late, wet or dry. The best results were had by beginning to plow after the grass had a pretty good start, and quitting the work some time before it was ready for the scythe. The main object aimed at was to secure as complete a rotting of the sod as possible. To this end the plow was gauged to cut only one and one-half to two inches deep. Then, if the mould-board was so shaped as to "kink" the sod as it was turned over, all the better, as in the early days of "prairie-breaking" very little use was made of the ground the first year. The object was to have the land in as good a shape as possible for sowing wheat the following spring. A dry season, thin breaking, "kinky" furrows, and not too long breaking accomplished this, and made the putting in of wheat the following spring an easy task. But on the contrary, if broken too deeply, and the furrows laid flat and smooth, or in a wet season, or if broken too late, the job of seeding the wheat on tough sod was a hard and slow one.

The outfit for "prairie-breaking" was usually about as follows: three to six yokes of oxen, a covered wagon, a small kit of tools, and among these always a good assortment of files for sharpening the plow-share, a few cooking utensils, and sometimes a dog and pony. The oxen, when the day's work was done, were turned loose to feed on the grass. To one or more was attached a far-sounding bell, so as to betray

their whereabouts at all times. The pony and dog came in good play for company, and in gathering up the oxen when wanted. The season for breaking would average about two months. The price per acre for breaking varied from \$2.50 to \$4.50, as the man was boarded or as he "found himself." In latter years when it was learned that flax could be raised to good advantage on new breaking, and that it helped to rot the sod, the breaking season commenced much earlier.

Three yokes of good-sized oxen drawing a 24-inch plow, with two men to manage the work, would ordinarily break about two acres a day; five yokes with a 36-inch plow, requiring no more men to "run the machine," would break three acres a day. When the plow was kept running continuously, the "shear" had to be taken to the blacksmith as often as once a week to be drawn out thin, so that a keen knife-edge could be easily put on it with a file, by the men who managed the plow. If the team was going around an 80-acre tract of prairie, the "lay" or "shear" had to be filed after each round to do the best work. The skillful "breaker" tried to run his plow one and one-half inches deep and no deeper. This was for the purpose of splitting the sod across the mass of tough fibrous roots, which had lain undisturbed for uncounted years and had formed a network of interlaced sinews as difficult to cut as india rubber, where the prairie was inclined to be wet; and it was not easy to find an entire 80-acre tract that was not intersected with numerous "sloughs," across which the breaking-plow had to run. In many places the sod in these "sloughs" was so tough that it was with the greatest difficulty that the plow could be kept in the ground. If it ran out of the ground, this tough, leathery sod would flop back into the furrow as swiftly as the falling of a row of bricks set up on end, and the man and driver had to turn the long ribbon of tough sod over by hand—if they could not make a "balk." In the flat, wet prairie, it sometimes took from two to three years for the tough sod to

decompose sufficiently to produce a full crop. The plow had to be kept in perfect order to turn this kind of prairie sod over, and the "lay" had to have an edge as keen as a scythe to do good work. There were usually two "lays" or "shears" fitted to each plow, so that the team need not be idle while the boy with the mustang went often from five to eight miles to the nearest blacksmith to get a "lay" sharpened. Sometimes the oxen would stray off among the "barrens," or follow the course of some stream for miles and hide among the willows to take a vacation, and frequently they were not found until after two or three days of weary search by the men and boy, while the plow which ought to be earning six or nine dollars a day was lying idle on the great prairie.

There were men who equipped "a brigade" for breaking and carried on a thriving business from about the first day of May to the end of July.

When the rush of immigration began in the spring of 1854, there were not nearly enough breaking-teams in the country to supply the demand. In some cases the "new-comers" would consent to have a portion of their prairie farms broken up in April, and on this early breaking they would plant "sod corn." The process was simple; a man with an axe would follow the line of every second or third furrow, strike the blade deep in the ground, a boy or girl would follow and drop three or four kernels of corn into the hole and bring one foot down "right smart" on the hole in the sod, and the deed was done. No cultivation was required after planting, and in the fall a half crop of corn was frequently gathered without expense. Those who were not able to get breaking done at the best time for subduing the sod, were often glad to have some done in the latter part of July or the first half of August. So for several years the "breaking brigades" were able to run their teams for four months each year, and it was profitable business.

With all the crudeness, with all the exposure, with all the privations and hard times—for there were hard times in

those days—yet, the passing of those pioneer days with the quaint old “prairie breaking-plow,” the string of oxen, the old prairie-schooner wagon, the elk and deer, with now and then a buffalo, the prairie chickens, the “dug-outs”, sod houses and log cabins, give to us old pioneer settlers a tinge of sadness difficult to express in words; for with all these have gone a great deal of that community and fellowship of neighborhood feeling, so common and so heartily expressed from one to another in the abounding hospitality and in the kindly exchange of help in those days. Then those living miles apart were friends and neighbors. Now the families living on adjoining quarter sections are strangers. Today it seems that each one thinks he must “go it alone,” as did the old “prairie breaking-plow,” which usually did go it alone, for it was so constructed as to hold itself; except at the beginning and at the end of the furrows there was little handling of the rear end of the long lever. It was easily made to take the sod and to leave it at the farther end.

While we say good-bye to this bygone “breaking-plow,” let us not forget that it—like those early and hardy pioneers, rude though they were in some respects, like the old plow and other tools in that day—has bequeathed to us, who are reaping the rich harvest of their sowing, an inheritance of which we can be proud, and for which I most truly hope we are grateful.

WILLOWEDGE FARM, NEAR FT. DODGE, MAY, 1902.

NOTE.—Farmer Coffin does not mention the “colter” attached to the plow-beam, but the artist who drew the original of our cut has added it. At first it was a steel blade fastened to the beam, and extending down close to the point of the “shear,” to cut the sod preparatory to its being turned over; but later on the rolling-colter was invented, as we are informed, by John Deere, of Moline, Ill., who also invented the steel plow. This sharp, circular disk cut the sod much better than the primitive straight blade. The word is spelled variously, as “colter,” “coulter,” and “cutter.”—EDITOR.

COUNCIL BLUFFS IN 1852.

Hon. Thomas J. Bunn, ex-mayor and ex-postmaster of Bloomington, Illinois, has had a picturesque and varied experience and nothing is more enjoyable than to catch him in one of his reminiscent moods and listen to his dramatic talk of pioneer days. Recently he detailed his experience in Council Bluffs fifty years ago, to Mr. E. M. Prince, secretary of the McLean County (Ill.) Historical Society, who has kindly furnished a copy to THE ANNALS, as follows:

I came to Bloomington, Illinois, with my father in 1833, when only three months old. I have been by turns printer, blacksmith, dry goods clerk, land agent, speculator and politician. In 1866 I opened the first coal-shaft in Bloomington and discovered the underground body of water from which Bloomington draws its present supply. My life at least has been a busy one.

In 1852 my older brother Ben and I took the gold fever and started for California. At Peoria we had engaged passage to St. Louis on the Illinois river steamer, *Prairie State*. But I was taken down with fever and ague which delayed us. The *Prairie State* blew up at Pekin on that trip. After waiting in vain a few days for me to recover, my brother went on and I was to follow as soon as I got over "the shakes," and meet him at Council Bluffs. At St. Louis I had intended to take the steamer *Kansas* for the upper Missouri, but was delayed and had to take another steamer which overtook the *Kansas* at Lexington, Missouri, and just as we were about to pass it the *Kansas* blew up. Above the old Kansas City landing the Missouri river was so treacherous that the boat did not run at night but tied up to the bank and waited until daylight. After a tedious passage we reached Council Bluffs, then called Kaneshville. By a misunderstanding I missed my brother who waited for me at the lower crossing of the Missouri about ten miles below Kaneshville. I was stranded in a strange land hundreds of miles away from home with no acquaintances and little money. I was a mere slip of a blue-eyed boy, only nineteen years of age, but full of life, fun and mischief.

Council Bluffs was then the "wide open" town of the western frontier. Iowa, except a fringe of towns and settlements on its eastern border, was an almost unbroken prairie wilderness. Beyond the Missouri was another wilderness of plain and mighty mountain ranges stretching thousands of miles to the Pacific, with only a few "forts," or trading posts like Bridger or Laramie to break the monotony of the wilderness. It was the last town between the "coast and the states." Bordering the Missouri river was a low, alluvial, narrow plain, and back of it the bluffs, which were pierced by an opening which extended on each side back of the bluffs. It was like the figure Y, its foot extending from the river through the bluffs and the arms of the Y extending north and south back of the bluffs. Down these ravines during heavy rains ran quite a large amount of water which, however, was quickly absorbed by the sandy soil. The bluffs were covered with scrubby oaks, and on both sides of the Y there were Indian burial places. The bodies, wrapped in bark, cloth or skins, were put in the limbs of trees to which they were fastened. These places had apparently been long used for this purpose, for there were many bones under the trees and the burial cases were in all stages of decay. The settlement extended from the river along the stream and both arms of the Y.

The buildings were all log cabins; I do not think there was a frame building in the town. Many of the St. Louis merchants had established branch houses there where the thousand and one things the necessities or fancies of the emigrants induced them to buy, could be found. These supplies came by the river steamers from St. Louis. Most of the inhabitants were Mormons living in tents and log cabins. Driven out of Missouri and Illinois they were gathering there for their long journey to Salt Lake. They had two log churches, one on the north branch of the Y and one on the south. The latter was about 100x75 feet, one and a half stories, with rude slab benches seating probably 800. There

were about 1500 Mormons there and in that immediate vicinity. They were all—men, women, and children—missionaries, always ready to argue for their religion, having the Bible at their tongues' end. They published two weekly papers, *The Frontier Guardian* and *The Kaneshville Bugle*.

Besides the Mormons there was a motley population of some three or four hundred roustabouts from the river boats, clerks and merchants in charge of the stores, whisky slingers, gamblers, fast women, and the drunken, thieving, riff-raff that usually makes up a large part of the population of such a place. There was a constant stream of gold seekers passing through by all sorts of conveyances, four-horse and two-horse, and mule teams, ox teams, horseback and muleback, in all sorts of vehicles from the prairie schooner to the buggy. I have seen as many as a thousand teams encamped there at once completing their outfitting and getting ready for their long journey. Adjoining the town on the east was a large Indian reservation, and the town was always swarming with dirty Pawnee bucks, squalid squaws and their half-naked children.

I do not think there were any lawyers there then. Indeed, they had no use for judge or jury. The bullet of the revolver was the sole legal tender of justice. Whoever got the drop on his opponent was the best man and there was no trouble about an inquest.

The recklessness of the gambling mania was over all. Every one seemed willing, anxious to risk his all on the turn of a card or a throw of the dice. I had learned the printer's trade in Illinois and fortunately found work on Elder Orson Hyde's Mormon paper, *The Frontier Guardian*. The king of the gamblers was a man by the name of Johnson, at least that was the name by which he was known. He was a young man, evidently well educated, tall, fine manners, never used intoxicating liquors or tobacco, and never indulged in profane language. Well dressed he looked rather like a parson than a sporting man. He took a great fancy to me and told

me he was from Buffalo, New York, where his mother and sister resided; that they had a hard time in life, that he had taken up gambling as the quickest and easiest way of providing for them and that as soon as he had done that he would quit the business and leave it forever. The principal drinking and gambling place was called the Gem saloon, a long log building with a bar at each end and card tables and a complete gambling outfit in the center. It was open from one week's end to the other. The sound of clinking glasses, the rattle of dice, the drunken oath, the Bacchanalian song never died out. All restraint was thrown to the winds. It seemed as if all the passing gold seekers as well as the professional gamblers wanted to try their luck at the gaming table.

Johnson could act the drunken man to perfection. One evening he came reeling into the Gem and asked in a maudlin way if anyone wanted a game. Among those present were two young men from Wisconsin, emigrants on their way to California, apparently hard-working, honest farmer boys, who probably had never played for money before. Carried away by the prevailing excitement, and perhaps thinking they had "a soft snap" in a drunken man, they accepted Johnson's invitation. The game opened, Johnson knew how to lead them on, and it did not end until late at night, when the boys found themselves stripped of everything—their team even had been staked and lost.

Raking the money off the table into his pocket Johnson went to his sleeping room. This was in another long one-story log building—the rooms were partitioned off with calico and were just large enough for a bed. Johnson and I slept together in the room next the door. In an hour or two there came a loud knocking outside. We both got up and taking our revolvers from under our pillows went to the door. Johnson inquired who was there, and was told that the Wisconsin boys wanted to see him. He unlocked the door and admitted them and asked what they wanted. They replied they

wanted money enough to take them home, otherwise they would have to walk and beg their way back. They did not blame him for their loss, they had lost in a fair game and only asked enough to get them home. He told them to meet him at the wagon yard where their teams were the next morning, and he would see about it. At the appointed time the whole town was there as the request got noised abroad and everyone wanted to see what Johnson would do.

Well shaven and well dressed he looked more like a college professor than a gambler. The boys again said they did not ask him to refund what he had won, only lend them enough to take them back home. He replied that they were not penniless as they still had their outfit worth considerable money which they had not played away. This surprised them as they thought the outfit had gone with the team, but said he, "if I should let you have money you would blow it in the first game you come to." "Oh! no, we wouldn't," they replied; "we have quit gambling forever." Then he said, "I don't know that it would make any difference, but I would like to have you take an oath that you will never gamble any more." They said they were perfectly willing to do so, and then came the strange scene, a boss gambler swearing two of his victims with their right hands uplifted to heaven never again to gamble. It was a solemn scene, the two stalwart young men, bronzed by toil in the sun, hands hardened by daily work with the ax and plow, with bowed heads, repeating after the earnest, elegant Johnson—"In the presence of Almighty God, and these witnesses, I do most solemnly promise and swear hereafter forever to wholly abstain from all and every kind of gambling, betting and games of chance."

Then ensued the most singular event in my somewhat varied life. In the presence of these three or four hundred people, professional gamblers, saloon keepers, and toughs of every description, Johnson delivered the most eloquent lecture against gambling I ever heard. He then gave the boys

all the money he had won from them—fifteen hundred dollars—and then said, “I suppose that you would like to go to California.” “Yes,” they replied, “that is what we started for.” “Well,” said he, “the team might as well go with the money, take the team. Go on your way and behave yourselves.” What became of either party I never knew, the boys started on their long western journey, and that fall when I returned to Illinois Johnson came as far as St. Louis with me, and his last words were “Tommy, *never*, NEVER, NEVER touch a card,” but whether he quit I don’t know, probably not, for once a gambler always a gambler is the usual rule. The craving for excitement usually breaks the best resolutions of those who once get accustomed to games of chance.

EARLY IOWA HISTORY.—The original Council Bluffs was on the west side of the Missouri river, and was so named by Lewis and Clark, because of the council with the Otoe and Missouri Indians they held there August 3, 1804. It was on the bluff where Fort Calhoun was afterwards built. It is in what is now Washington county, Nebraska. (See Iowa Historical Record, x, 74.) As to the “neutral ground”, it was a strip forty miles wide from the Mississippi to the Des Moines. By treaty of August 10, 1825, a dividing line between the Sioux and the Sacs and Foxes was created for the purpose of keeping those tribes from the wars with each other to which they had been addicted. They still quarrelled, however, and another treaty was made July 15, 1830, by which the Sioux ceded a strip of twenty miles north of said dividing line to the United States, and the Sacs and Foxes ceded a strip of twenty miles south of said line to the United States. This was “neutral ground”. After the Black Hawk war it was turned over to the Winnebagoes by treaty of September 15, 1832, in exchange for their lands east of the Mississippi, and occupied by them until 1845-6.
—*Dr. Wm. Salter in Des Moines Register, Feb. 23, 1902.*

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN IOWA TERRITORY, 1839-'43.

LETTER BY GOV. ROBERT LUCAS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, I. T., }
BURLINGTON, JUNE, 12, 1839. }

Sir:—By the last mail I received your communication of the 16th ult., enclosing ten scales of vaccine* matter for the benefit of the Indians in this Superintendency. On the receipt of which I forthwith assigned to the Agent of the Sac and Fox Indians \$166.66 of the allowance of \$500, and three scales of the vaccine matter—and to the Agent of the Seoux Indians the residue, \$233.33 and seven scales of the vaccine matter.

Genl. Street being at this place at the time, I handed to him the scales of matter together with a copy of the instructions of the 29th of April, and your letter of the 16th ult., and authorized him to employ a physician to carry into effect the wishes of the Department. I also transmitted to Maj. Taliaferro, by mail (there being no other means of conveyance) seven scales of the vaccine matter, with copies of your letters of the 29th of April and 16th ult., with instructions to employ physicians to vaccinate the Seoux Indians—which I presume will be promptly attended to.

We labor under great inconvenience in this Superintendency for want of regular mails. We have no mail between this place and the Sac and Fox Agency, a distance of about eighty miles; and the mail to St. Peters as well as the mails from Washington City are very tardy and irregular in their arrivals. Sometimes communications are several weeks on their way from St. Peters to this place by mail, and they are usually from three to four weeks on the way from Washington City.

This being the most remote Superintendency in the U. S. from the City of Washington, or the longest in receiving intelligence from the head of the Department, I would suggest

* We preserve the Governor's quaint spelling of the words "vaccine" and "Sioux."

whether the good of the service does not require that it should be furnished at an early period in the season with the means of fulfilling all the treaty stipulations with the Indians, and the payment of their annuities promptly at the time prescribed by government.

I have not up to this date received any account of the allowances made to this Superintendency or any other information relative to the funds to be disbursed to the Indians the present year. If the disbursements are not made at an early period in the season it will be impossible for the agents and superintendents to have their annual accounts closed and transmitted to Washington City by the 1st of October, as required by the general regulations.

I suggested in a former communication, and again repeat it, that I would be thankful to receive from the Indian Department at Washington such special instructions as would enable me to fulfill with promptness and accuracy the various duties required of me as Superintendent. This being a new Superintendency I can derive no aid from former proceedings as I have no old records to refer to, neither have I the means of knowing how the business has heretofore been transacted with the Indians now residing in this superintendency. Any instructions, forms, diagrams or other documents that would aid me in acquiring a perfect knowledge of the duties pertaining to the office of superintendent, in accordance with the rules of the Department of Indian Affairs at Washington, will be thankfully received and promptly attended to.

With sincerest respect,

I am your Obt. Sert.,

ROBERT LUCAS,

Gov. & Supt. Ind. Affairs.

HON. T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs,

Washington City.

BITTER COMPLAINT OF GOV. JOHN CHAMBERS.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
BURLINGTON, IOWA TERR'Y, 24TH FEB'Y, 1843. }

Sir:—In the pressure of executive duties towards the close of the late session of the territorial legislature, I omitted to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., enclosing a copy of one from G. W. Ewing, Esq., to you. Mr. Ewing describes very correctly, I have no doubt, some of the many infamous practices resorted to by unprincipled men to cheat and abuse the Indians, and he might with great propriety have extended his representations to *some* of those he calls “regular traders,” whose dealings with them are characterized by the vilest extortion—a species of fraud over which the officers of your department can exercise no control or supervision, without (a case of rare occurrence) they happen to be called upon in the negotiation of a treaty, to inspect their accounts, preparatory to making a treaty provision for the payment of their claims. And even in that case all their cash dealings and exchanges for furs and skins escape examination. With all your experience and the greatest degree of information to be obtained from official sources, you cannot, I apprehend, have more than a very imperfect idea of the “regular” Indian trade. If the vengeance of Heaven is ever inflicted upon man in this life, it seems to me we must yet see some signal evidence of it among these “regular traders.” It would be worthy the labors of a casuist to determine whether the wretch who sells a diseased or stolen horse to a poor Indian, or the “regular trader” who sells him goods of no intrinsic value to him at nine hundred per cent advance on the cost, is the greater rascal.

It is deeply to be regretted that all your efforts to induce Congress to change the system have been unsuccessful. Until it is changed your utmost exertions to protect the Indian race against fraud, imposition and abuse will prove ineffectual. I have thought that if the system could even be so

modified as to compel the licensed trader to furnish sworn copies of their invoices, and submit their goods to a comparison with them and to inspection, and their books and accounts to thorough examination, and compel them to render quarterly or semi-annual abstracts of their sales on the oaths of themselves and their clerks, and a statement of all money, skins, furs, etc., received from the Indians, it might by a rigid scrutiny be made to some extent a means of restraining their extortions and frauds; but to make such a scrutiny effectual, it would be necessary to employ agents who neither resided in the Indian country or were in habits of intercourse with the traders or the Indians. I wish most sincerely that Congress in its zeal for reform would take this subject up, and that the committees on Indian affairs would, in the right spirit, consult with you on the reformation of the system. I would most cheerfully travel to Washington to afford them all the information and aid in my power. It makes my heart sick to dwell upon the injuries and injustice to which the Indian race is subjected by the injudicious system by which our intercourse with them is governed, and the utter impracticability of correcting it while the practice of sending licensed traders among them prevails. Why, sir, I acknowledge that (although personally I am not a timid man) officially I fear these "regular traders," because I cannot, by any power I possess, or influence I can obtain or exert, control, treat with, or influence the Indians in opposition to their interests or wishes. Nor does the evil stop there. When a treaty is to be made and their claims against the Indians are to be liquidated, some of them come prepared to show your commissioners the hazard they incur in disobliging them, by a curtailment of their iniquitous demands. Letters from distinguished senators and members of Congress are presented, introducing them as strangers, (though well known) and recommending them as gentlemen of integrity, high standing and great influence, and I suppose they might, in great truth add, what would be equivalent to all the rest, distin-

guished for their *great wealth*, acquired in the Indian trade. I feel painfully the necessity of making the best of things *as they are*, having no power to correct the evils out of which they have grown, and by which they are supported; but I hope to live to see the time in which the necessity of yielding to circumstances will no longer exist, and if so I will certainly endeavor to place some of those "distinguished" gentlemen before the councils of the nation in their true character.

In the examination of the accounts of the traders against the Sac and Fox Indians at the late treaty with them, it was found in one instance that the advance upon the cost of the goods charged to the tribe, ranged from one hundred to nine hundred per cent., and that the articles charged at the highest rate of profit were, in most instances, those of least actual use or value to them. And now what power, I would ask, have you or your subordinates to correct such abuses? You have no power I apprehend to dictate the advance these people shall be permitted to charge the Indians upon the cost of their goods, or what description of goods they shall deal in; if not, it is a matter of *conscience* with them. If you are called upon in the negotiation of a treaty to make provision for the payment of the claims of these traders against the Indians, you can subject them to an examination of their accounts, and can curtail them if manifestly unreasonable; but suppose they are so much so as to amount to extortion, can your superintendent of Indian Affairs, or Agent, or commissioner, take the ground that the license under which such extortion has been committed ought to be revoked? And if he did what would be the consequences? Why, that scores of members of Congress would be brought forward to support the aggrieved "regular trader" and prove his high character for integrity, fair dealing, etc., and by implication that he was persecuted by some petty government functionary.

But I am intruding a very long letter upon you, perhaps unnecessarily, and certainly, on what would not appear to a

stranger unacquainted with the subject to be a very appropriate occasion for discussing the merits of our system of Indian intercourse; but you will understand the feeling which induces me to place these "regular traders" in juxtaposition with the *irregular*, complained of by Mr. Ewing, and will I trust excuse the length to which it has spun out this communication.

Your instructions growing out of Mr. Ewing's letter will be communicated to the agents in this superintendency, with strict injunctions to effect their object as far as practicable.

I send you enclosed a copy of an act passed at the recent session of the territorial legislature, to prevent and punish the offense of selling intoxicating liquors to the Indians; it is not what I wished, but the best I could obtain.

Very respectfully your ob't Serv't,

JOHN CHAMBERS.

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, ESQ.,

Comr. Ind. Affairs, Department of War,

Washington City.

THE PRINTING of the public laws of the territory in the newspapers we consider of the highest importance to the public. Our farmers and mechanics should be made acquainted with all laws of a public bearing, and there is no manner in which their circulation can be diffused more widely than through the columns of a public journal. We therefore hope that the legislature will select three or four papers in the territory in which to publish the laws, either at a fixed compensation, or at a stated price per page of the printed laws.—*Davenport (Iowa) Sun*, Nov. 14, 1840.

OUR INDIANS.

The census of 1900 was the first to include the untaxed Indians in the statistics of the total population. The results of this enumeration, printed in the latest Bulletin of the Census Bureau, include 129,518 untaxed Indians in the total population of 76,303,387. This does not take in the Indians of Alaska, however, who would swell the number considerably.

These wards of the nation are rather less numerous than had been supposed. The handbook "Statistics of the Indian Tribes," published by the government in 1899, estimated the number of Indians at nearly 250,000, basing these figures mainly upon the Indian agency reports. The fact, however, that fewer than 130,000 untaxed Indians were counted in the last census does not indicate that they are rapidly dying out. It has long been known that half-breeds have figured to a large extent in the census returns as white persons. Inter-marriages between white men and Indian women have become numerous in the past twenty years, most of all in the Indian territory, but also in other centers of Indian population. The pure bloods are becoming less numerous, not by extinction but by absorption into the mass of the whites around them.

The enumeration of the Indians last year was probably a close approximation of their actual number. The fact that they are less numerous than they were generally supposed to be is an interesting confirmation of the conclusions reached by the most careful students of our Indian tribes, who have asserted for years that the pure bloods were decreasing and the mixed bloods increasing in number. It was estimated by Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, for example, that the admixture of white blood in the Sioux, Chippewa and Pottawattamie families had lightened the color of their entire tribes from one-sixth to one-fourth. According to Prof. Daniel Wilson of Toronto, not a single pure blood Indian remains in some of

the Canadian bands. About half of the Cherokees, the largest nation of the Indian territory, are half or quarter breeds. The mixed bloods in Minnesota are not classed as Sioux or Chippewas, but as white persons. Many of them are well educated and highly respected citizens, graduates of the best schools in the west, and some of their fathers gave their names to counties in the state, were its territorial governors, or helped form its state constitution.

Those philanthropists who deplore the "unhappy fate" of the Indians seldom take into account the fact that the aboriginal population was always extremely sparse and never could have become large in the nomad conditions under which it lived. All the evidence seems to prove conclusively that the New England Indians never exceeded 20,000. Bancroft could find no reason to believe that more than 300,000 Indians ever inhabited, at one time, the vast area between the Atlantic and the Rocky Mountains, the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. Hunting tribes greatly predominated over the settled, agricultural tribes who were in a state of decline when the whites first came to America. Large populations have never been found among men who lived by the chase. It is not surprising that there were incessant wars among the hunting tribes in order to preserve or enlarge their territory. According to Sir John Lubbock, the proportion of game animals to the population in communities living by the chase must be 750 to the man. These animals must be renewed from year to year; if the population increases, the number of animals must be largely increased; thus it happened that the preservation of human life was much less important than the preservation of game in aboriginal America; the tribes attacked each other to keep the game for themselves. The changed conditions that have made the life of an Indian more important than that of the animals which nourished him can scarcely be regarded as an unmixed evil.—*N. Y. Sun, June 12, 1901.*



POWESHIEK.

An Iowa (Fox) Indian Chief from whom one of our counties was named.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

THE INDIAN CHIEF POWESHIEK.

McKenney and Hall, in their "Indian Tribes of North America," present a portrait of this "celebrated brave of the Musquakie or Fox nation," from which our engraving was made, but their biographical memoranda is very brief. They say that he was a "daring warrior, and held a respectable standing in council, as a man of prudence and capacity," but add that "nothing very striking in his history has reached us." These authors spell the name "Powasheek," explaining that it signifies "To wash the water off."

The late Judge A. R. Fulton, however, in his "Red Men of Iowa," writes more at length of this noted Indian, whose name was given to one of our richest inland counties, quoting freely from the late Col. S. C. Trowbridge of Iowa City, "who knew him personally." He spells his name "Poweshiek," stating that it signifies "The Roused Bear." Judge Fulton devotes three pages to such biographical details as were familiar to Col. Trowbridge, which are undoubtedly correct. From 1843 to 1845 Poweshiek made his home in the vicinity of the present city of Des Moines. He removed south with his people in the latter year, stopping awhile in Missouri, but later settled in Kansas. The date of his death is unknown.

TWO HISTORIC PORTRAITS.

Since issuing the last ANNALS the Historical Department has received oil portraits of James Harlan, the illustrious Senator, and Francis Springer, the distinguished jurist who

is so well remembered as president of the Iowa Constitutional Convention of 1857. The portrait of Mr. Harlan was purchased by the legislature from Mrs. N. C. Deering, of Osage. It was painted in the later sixties or early seventies by Constantino Brumidi, a famous Greek-Italian artist, who did not live to complete the frescos which he projected in the rotunda of the National Capitol at Washington. In Mr. Deering's earlier residence in the federal city, while he was serving as a clerk in one of the departments, he volunteered to assist Mr. Harlan as an amanuensis. That was in the era of old-fashioned economy, before the days of private secretaries and multiplied clerkships. For this work, which continued some months, Mr. Deering declined to receive any compensation. Mr. Harlan, however, made Mr. and Mrs. Deering a present of a sum of money to which they decided to add sufficient to secure this portrait. Afterwards, Mr. Deering was elected a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, where he served three terms. His death occurred several years ago, since which time this portrait has remained in the family residence at Osage. At the request of the writer, Mrs. Deering sent it the Historical Art Gallery, where it had been hanging by that of his great colleague, J. W. Grimes. The subject was brought to the attention of the legislature, when a concurrent resolution was adopted, providing for a joint committee to consider the matter of its purchase. The committee reported in favor of purchasing the portrait, at a cost of \$1,000. This report was adopted by both houses and the sum was accepted by Mrs. Deering. The portrait is an excellent likeness of Mr. Harlan as he appeared while in the U. S. Senate. With the exception of James W. McDill, Jesse B. Howell and Jonathan P. Dolliver, the State now owns oil portraits of our U. S. Senators, and for the most part they are excellent paintings.

The portrait of Judge Francis Springer was painted by Louis Mayer, a well known artist of Milwaukee, Wis. It was received with the following letter, which explains itself:

DES MOINES, May 7, 1902.

HON. CHARLES ALDRICH, Curator Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa:

Dear Sir:—The children of Francis Springer have thought that they could in no way better honor his name, nor serve the State more acceptably, than by offering his portrait to its Historical Department, to be placed among those of the men with whom he was associated for more than half a century, in the building of this great State. The fact of having been thus associated in so grand a work was accounted by him the highest honor of his declining years. The portrait, of which we herewith beg acceptance for the State, was painted by Louis Mayer, of Milwaukee. It will be formally presented on our behalf by our father's oldest surviving friend, the venerable pastor, Dr. William Salter, who since the State began, has ministered to the joys and sorrows of her people, and whose voice has been heard, in words of comfort, at the stricken firesides of so many who helped to make her history what it is. May his grand old age be bright with the knowledge that all Iowa claims him as a friend, and that young and old alike love, honor and revere him.

With great respect, we are, faithfully yours,

FRANK SPRINGER, Las Vegas, N. M.

ARTHUR SPRINGER, Wapello, Iowa.

CHARLES SPRINGER, Springer, N. M.

NELLIE SPRINGER LETTS, Columbus Junction, Ia.

On the above date, and on behalf of the children of Francis Springer, in the Iowa Historical Art Gallery, this portrait was presented by the Rev. Dr. William Salter, of Burlington. For this occasion it had been hung on the north wall, and draped with the beautiful American flag which floated over the National House of Representatives on the occasion of the memorial services in honor of the late President McKinley. Dr. Salter gave his hearers an interesting sketch of the life of Francis Springer, with a judicial estimate of his worth as a man and of his valuable services to the State. It was noticed that the veteran clergyman, now in his 81st year, read his neat and beautiful manuscript without the aid of glasses. This manuscript is now in the Historical Department, and is to be placed in a fine binding and preserved as a precious souvenir of an interesting historical event. At the conclusion of his address, the knot was loosened by Mrs. Nellie Springer Letts, daughter of the statesman, and the flag gracefully descended, unveil-

ing the splendid portrait. On behalf of the State, in an eloquent address, this gift was appropriately accepted by Governor Albert B. Cummins, who also to some extent reviewed his distinguished career. The closest attention was given to the speakers by the audience. The hall was well filled and the assemblage was presided over by Hon. P. M. Casady, a State Senator of 1848-50, who left his impress upon those times by reporting and securing the passage of a bill which prescribed the geographical limits and provided names for fifty of the counties in the western half of Iowa. Judge Springer's autobiography was printed in *THE ANNALS*, Vol. II, 3d series, pp. 569-85, and his name will be found in the indexes of all the volumes. The reception of this excellent portrait thus rounds out the efforts of relatives, appreciative friends, and the State, to keep green the memory of the illustrious pioneer.

A LIFE OF THEODORE S. PARVIN.

Shortly after the death of this distinguished pioneer, the subject of writing his biography was discussed to some extent, but mainly, as we suppose, in Masonic circles. While his life was so largely devoted to Masonry, he was yet a large factor in the early history of the Territory and State, as well as in its educational development in later years. Few long lives are so completely devoted to the public service and the public welfare. And now that some time has elapsed since he went to his grave, full of years and honors, those who knew him intimately can form a fair judgment as to the value of the story of his life. In these times the rush of events soon covers every grave with the mantle of oblivion, but wherever we have heard the subject discussed, an earnest desire is invariably expressed that the story of Parvin's life shall be told, for the benefit of future generations, and the preservation of much valuable history. Primarily, this task should be undertaken under the auspices of the Masonic

Order, but the story of his useful career in other fields of effort and usefulness should by no means be neglected. It is to be hoped that this subject may receive early attention from the Masonic Grand Lodge, as well as from his more immediate friends.

DEWEY AND INGHAM.

During the years of the civil war in which the State of Iowa was incurring heavy expenditures incident to the raising, arming, subsisting, and sending to the front her volunteer soldiers, she had the services of two men—John N. Dewey and Schuyler R. Ingham—who deserve to be held in grateful remembrance. They were members of the board of commissioners named as such in the first section of chapter 10, laws of the extra session of the 8th general assembly, “an act providing for auditing all accounts and disbursements arising under the call for volunteers from Iowa, and also for all men organized as State militia of Iowa.” This act was approved May 28, 1861. These gentlemen were associated at times with other well-known business men in the discharge of their onerous and most responsible duties, but the consensus of opinion during these years gave them the largest measure of credit for the excellent work performed by the commission. In this work they “did the State some service,” a fact which was known and appreciated in every community from which soldiers enlisted for the Union armies. This involved great expense and men were found quite ready to “make money” by it. But when an account came to be acted upon by Dewey and Ingham it had to pass through a most critical ordeal, though they were never charged with acting unjustly, or in a spirit of narrow, pinching economy. Each was a man of positive convictions, and from their determination to pay no padded bills against the State or general government they could not be swerved in the smallest degree. Perhaps the highest compliment that can be paid

to the memory of these auditing commissioners is this—that they enjoyed to the fullest extent the confidence of Samuel J. Kirkwood, our illustrious War Governor.

Col. Dewey was born in Hanover, N. H., Feb. 3, 1814; he died in Des Moines, Iowa, Sept. 9, 1889. He had studied civil engineering, which profession he followed for ten years in the employ of railroad companies in New England and New York. He settled in Des Moines in 1855, where he was engaged in engineering, surveying, and dealing in real estate. He was a business man of large capacity and experience, standing high in the confidence of his wide circle of acquaintance. He was often chosen to positions of public trust in the city where he lived, and was one of the first board of capitol commissioners, but his most important service was performed under the law quoted above. When he passed away, aside from an appreciative notice by his friend James S. Clarkson, but little attention was given to the event, because, no doubt, his days of usefulness were long past and his life for many years had been a quiet one. But the State has had few abler and certainly no more upright and conscientious public servant. Col. Schuyler R. Ingham “still lives,” a resident, we believe, of New York City. He has been widely known more than a quarter of a century as a business man of great ability, especially successful in the management of large operations.

ESTIMATES OF JUDGE SPRINGER.

The addresses and other proceedings upon the occasion of the presentation of Judge Francis Springer's portrait were too voluminous to be published in our pages. We have therefore made some selections from the letters received in response to invitations. The first selection is the brief letter, evidently written by a tremulous hand, of Hon. Henry J. Skiff, a member of the constitutional convention of 1857, representing the counties of Poweshiek, Jasper, Marshall and Tama:

NEWTON, MAY 5.

The infirmities of my 81 years force me to send regrets for my inability to be present at the unveiling of the portrait of the old president, Francis Springer, May 7, which you very kindly invited me to attend.

Very truly yours,

H. J. SKIFF.

Judge W. I. Babb, of Mt. Pleasant, wrote as follows:

In 1867, when I was admitted to the bar, Judge Springer was the judge of this district, and the earliest years of my practice were in his court. He was always somewhat dignified and reserved in manner, but really kind and courteous in his intercourse with all, but more markedly so with the younger members of the bar. He was an upright, able and impartial judge and at all times commanded the fullest confidence of the bar and the general public. He always honored Iowa when he served her, and she does right in honoring his memory now.

The following sentence is from the response of Hon. G. W. Ball, State senator from Johnson county:

Judge Springer was an honored citizen and his services to the State have engraved his name high on the roll of her eminent citizens, and it is just and proper that his portrait should be hung by the side of theirs in the art gallery of the Historical Department.

Hon. F. M. Molsberry, State senator from Louisa and Muscatine counties, wrote us as follows from his home at Columbus Junction:

The Hon. Francis Springer was a character whom nearly every one in this county knew personally, and to know him was to respect and admire him for his many excellent qualities. It was not my pleasure to know him until toward the close of his long and eventful career; on several occasions, however, it was my privilege to talk to him and with him about the practice of the law in the early days of our statehood, and as he talked, in his kind, genial manner, it was truly an inspiration to the youthful practitioner, and could not help but create a desire on the part of the struggling young lawyer to emulate such an eminent jurist and just judge. I remember him as a genial, kind, lovable character, not at all ostentatious, always ready to aid those in need of his assistance, and nothing seemed to give him more pleasure during the declining years of his life than to discourse with the young lawyer, and by so doing instill into his mind some of the principles which should guide him in the practice of the profession. So far as I personally am concerned I shall not count as lost the time thus occupied with our deceased friend. Judge Springer's influence certainly had much to do in forming the early history of the State, and it is a matter of pride to all the citizens of this county, and particularly this village, that so honored and honorable a gentleman should have resided here. We feel that it is very fitting that his portrait should adorn the walls of the historical building, and we appreciate the very valuable gift of his heirs, and shall always feel that we have a peculiar interest in the history and historical building of the State.

Hon. John F. Dillon, one of the most distinguished Iowa jurists, but now a resident of New York City, wrote as follows:

For nearly two generations Judge Springer was a citizen of Iowa, and for more than a generation a distinguished and even eminent citizen. He was held in great esteem, not only for his ability and learning, but also for his irreproachable private character and sterling worth in all the attributes of a good citizen. He left to his family and to the State the priceless possession of an unspotted record. When I was a member of the supreme court of Iowa Judge Springer's decisions sometimes came before us for review. I am able to state the high opinion which all the judges of that court had of Judge Springer's learning and judicial ability. There was a strong presumption that any decision or judgment by Judge Springer was correct, and it so proved, for he was rarely reversed. I am glad that his memory is held in respect by the people of Iowa.

Letters were also received from Mayor James Brenton of Des Moines, Col. G. W. Crosley of Webster City, Col. W. S. Dungan of Chariton, Hon. Charles Linderman of Clarinda, ex-clerk of the supreme court, Hon. Eugene Secor of Forest City, Newton R. Parvin of Cedar Rapids, Hon. Isaac Brandt of Des Moines, Prof. B. F. Shambaugh of Iowa City, and others.

A VALUABLE COUNTY HISTORY.

There has lately been issued from the Kenyon Press, Des Moines, a History of Dickinson County, Iowa, which we believe will take rank among the valuable works of local history hitherto published in our State. It was written by Hon. Rodney A. Smith, a pioneer settler, who has resided on the bank of West Okoboji lake since the massacre of the settlers in 1857. Mr. Smith was a soldier in the relief expedition of 1857, and represented Dickinson, Emmet, Palo Alto and Clay counties in the twelfth general assembly. He is, with a single exception, the oldest living resident of that county. No man could be better informed upon the history of that region, "all of which he saw and part of which he was." During the intervening years—more than the lifetime of a generation—he has collected the data for this his life-work. The county and its thriving towns and villages have grown up under his observation. For many years he knew the most of its people and has always been constantly in touch with its growing interests. While he makes no pretension to scholarship, his work tells a continuous story of growth and development, progress and improvement, from the days of the white settlements which immediately followed the Indian troubles until the present time. Its 600 pages are a repository of facts.

The work opens with a full history of the Indian troubles of that region, of which the massacre and relief expedition were the chief features. This narrative fills eleven of the chapters. Mr. Smith has copied freely from the writings of other observers, as Gov. C. C. Carpenter, Hon. John F. Duncombe, Capt. Charles B. Richards, Lieut. John N. Maxwell, W. K. Laughlin, Mrs. Sharp, and the pages of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, but always with due credit.

The settlement and organization of the county run through five chapters and are especially full and complete.

Five or six chapters are devoted to Indian troubles in the northwest during the civil war, including the service of the border brigade. After the civil war the resumption of settlement was like beginning anew.

Another interesting episode was the graashopper invasion, which occupies two chapters, and here again the author copies from the graphic account of Gov. Carpenter.

Six chapters are devoted to the various towns in the county, of which Spirit Lake is the foremost.

There is a very interesting chapter on railroads, detailing at length the efforts of the people to have them extended into that region.

Two chapters are given to fish and game, their original status and rapid disappearance, and the efforts put forth to preserve them. The history of fish and game in Iowa, and the attempts to propagate the food fishes, are really epitomized by Mr. Smith.

This work is illustrated with excellent portraits of several people who were prominent in the Spirit Lake expedition, and there are many half-tones of scenery about the various lakes. The book is a beautiful one, reflecting much credit upon the author and publishers. It deserves a wide sale in northwestern Iowa, of which it presents a very full history. The purpose of Mr. Smith has been to narrate facts and incidents, as he knew them to have transpired, and not to make it in any sense a vehicle of personal adulation, like too many of the so-called county histories.

UNVEILING AND DEDICATING THE KINSMAN MONUMENT.

This event, which was announced in *THE ANNALS* for January last, took place at Council Bluffs, the home of Col. W. H. Kinsman before he entered the Union army, on the 17th of May last. It was one of the most important historical events that has taken place in recent years on the Missouri slope. Primarily it was the inspiration and work of Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, though he found hundreds of willing hands to assist him in the patriotic undertaking. It was paid for from contributions by Col. Kinsman's old comrades of the 4th and 23d Iowa Infantry regiments, a labor of love on their part. The monument was made from a design drawn by Gen. Dodge. It is a most symmetrical and beautiful gray granite pillar, 20 feet in height. The base is 4 feet 6 inches square. The word "Kinsman" stands out in large letters on the second base, and a bronze medallion portrait of the soldier was placed upon the die. The monument also has several tasteful decorations engraved upon the granite. There was a great procession to the cemetery, in which old and young soldiers, children from the public schools, and citizens generally participated. Gen. Dodge called the assemblage surrounding the monument to order and spoke as follows:

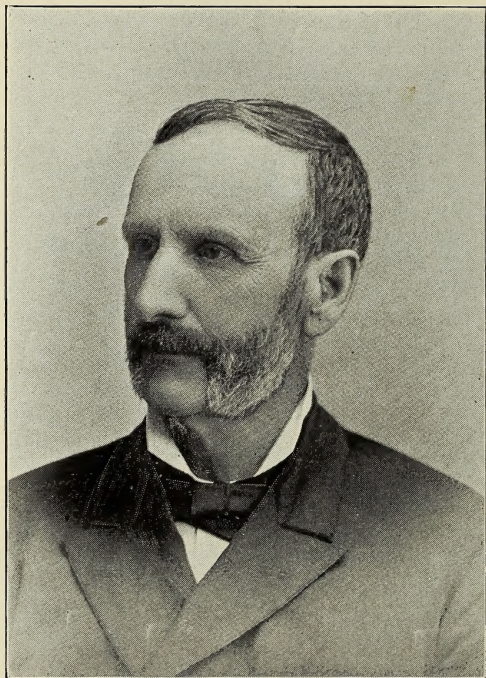
MY COMRADES, FRIENDS AND CITIZENS: We meet here to honor and commemorate a comrade, whom I had known probably longer and better than any one here present, and one very dear to me. It is not, however, my intention to speak to you of him. I paid my tribute to him in official reports that are a matter of record, and within the year, but before his body was found, I wrote my recollections of him that were published in the January number of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*. There are others present who will pay eloquent tribute to his memory.

It is a great pleasure and satisfaction to me to see so many of his comrades, friends, citizens and school children present, and I wish to impress upon them the lesson which this day teaches. It is thirty-nine years ago today since the soldier fell in battle, and after long search his comrades have rescued his remains from that memorable field, buried them here, and erected this simple but appropriate monument to his memory, proving that no matter how humble the position of this patriot whose loyalty to his country determined him to defend it, his acts and his services have never been forgotten. Let me assure these young people who are here before me, that if ever their country calls it should be not only a duty but a pleasure for them to respond, as our comrade Kinsman did, and they like him will be remembered and honored; and if he could speak to you today he would say to you, that above all things, loyalty to one's country is the citizens' first duty; that it is the law of both God and man, and should never for one moment be forgotten.

I wish, on behalf of the comrades, of the citizens, of the friends and scholars, to thank most cordially Lieut. J. A. Straight, Jesse Truitt and Comrade Oldham of the 23d Iowa, for that labor of love which resulted in locating and sending the remains of Col. Kinsman to his home. Mr. Oldham died soon after his return from Vicksburg. I wish also to thank the firm of Sheely & Lean of this city, the manufacturers of the simple but beautiful monument we have erected in this appropriate spot.

This shaft has wound around it the Star Spangled Banner, the banner that was carried in the celebrated charge at Black River bayou, where the brave and gallant 23d Iowa, led by the intrepid Colonel Kinsman, won a great victory, Kinsman laying down his life upon the enemy's entrenchments.

Gen. Dodge then gave the signal and the large American flag with which the monument was draped fell to the ground. The band played "The Star Spangled Banner," and the audience rising joined in singing the national anthem. Farther speaking followed, eulogies of Col. Kinsman being pronounced by Emmet Tinley, Lieut. J. A. Straight and J. W. Deweese.



THE LATE JUDGE N. M. HUBBARD.
1829-1902.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

NATHANIEL MEAD HUBBARD was born in Oswego, N. Y., Sept. 24, 1829; he died in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 12, 1902. From a sketch in "Progressive Men of Iowa," which is no doubt authoritative, we derive most of the following facts: He was the son of Ansel Hubbard, a Methodist clergyman and farmer, whose New England ancestry went back to 1624. In his boyhood days he had to battle against adverse conditions which he conquered in his determination to attain an education. An elder sister was his first teacher when he was a hard-worked boy on the farm. "By the aid of a pine knot in the evenings," says his biographer, "after his regular work was done, he began his earnest efforts to educate himself." As soon as he had made sufficient progress, he taught school and carried on his studies out of school hours. At the age of 20 he entered Alfred university, a Seventh Day Baptist college, at Alfred Center, Allegany county, N. Y., a short distance west of Hornellsville. After his graduation he studied law at the latter place. Coming west in 1854, he located in Marion, Iowa. At the outbreak of the civil war he entered the Union army, in which he served three years. He raised Co. F of the 20th Iowa Infantry, of which he was commissioned captain. In 1863 he was appointed provost marshal on the staff of Gen. F. J. Herron. He also served in the same capacity and as judge advocate on the staff of Gen. O. E. C. Ord. He resigned on account of disability April 20, 1865, and was brevetted major March 16, 1867, for meritorious services. He had long been a member of the Iowa Commandery of the Loyal Legion, and was president of the Society of the Army of the Frontier. In November after his return he was appointed district judge, to fill a vacancy. He left the bench the following year to enter the legal department of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co., in which service he remained down to the time of his death. He removed to Cedar Rapids in 1870. During the thirty-six years which elapsed after Judge Hubbard entered upon that engagement—1866-1902—no man in Iowa achieved a higher position as a lawyer or became a more dominant factor in its politics. His life was one of the greatest activity, and he won distinguished success in most of the contests in which he was necessarily engaged. While never craving political honors for himself, for many years his friendship for an aspirant for nomination or appointment counted as much as did that of Thurlow Weed in the state of New York. It would require a volume to tell the story of so active and influential a life, and we have little doubt that some such memorial will be prepared and published by his friends. His sudden death called forth expressions of respect and sympathy throughout the State, and from leading men in other parts of the country. We do not recall another instance in which the press of Iowa has devoted so much space to the record of a life. This was especially noticeable in the case of *The Register*, of Des Moines, ten of the broad columns of which were given up to "Memories of Judge Hubbard," by his friend, Hon. James S. Clarkson. He once asked the judge whom he estimated as Iowa's greatest men. Judge H. replied that Samuel F. Miller and James W. Grimes were "the greatest Iowa men in greatness born." He placed Mr. Grimes next to Lincoln in ability, at that time, saying, "Grimes had the cleanest and strongest mental ray among Iowa men," and he mentioned especially his great services as chairman of the senate committee on naval affairs during the civil war. Judge Hubbard's death was due to an accident. "He was driving from one of his farms to the other on a wagon with dump-boards, as he used to do in his boyhood days." The jolting frightened the team, which ran away, throwing him to the ground where a hind wheel passed over him. He was so seriously injured that he died three days afterwards.

THOMAS WILSON was born in New Brighton, Beaver county, Pa., July 18, 1832; he died in Washington, D. C., May 4, 1902. He received only a common school education when he started out to make his own way in the world, at first as an apprentice in Salem, O., to learn carriage making. Two years later he returned to New Brighton, remaining with his parents and working at his trade until he attained his majority. Coming west he served as a journeyman carriage maker in St. Louis, Mo., Troy, Ill., and elsewhere, finally settling in Marietta, Marshall county, where he followed his trade for some years, his principal work being the making of heavy plows used for breaking new prairie land. He was chosen deputy clerk of the district court and served in this capacity for some years, during which time he turned his attention to law, reading Blackstone and Kent after the day's work. He completed his law studies in the office of Finch & Crocker in Des Moines, after which he was admitted to the bar. He practiced for some time in Marietta with considerable success. He took an active part in the famous contest between Marietta and Marshalltown, which was one of the most vigorously prosecuted county-seat fights that ever occurred in Iowa, the contending parties at one time coming very near bloodshed. Marshalltown finally won the victory, which completely wiped out the pretensions and ambitions of Marietta. At the beginning of the civil war he assisted in raising Co. A, 2d Iowa Cavalry, of which Hon. W. P. Hepburn was the captain. Hepburn was soon promoted to lieutenant-colonel when Wilson became captain of the company. He served with his regiment until September, 1864, when, having been mustered out with the brevet rank of colonel, he went to Washington for the purpose of adjusting his accounts with the government in connection with the service. From this time forward Washington continued to be his home. For a long time he had a large practice before the court of claims and the United States supreme court. He retired from his profession in 1881, when he was appointed consul to Ghent, Belgium. After a few years he was transferred to Nantes, and afterwards to Nice. He had for many years before going to Europe taken great interest in the study of archæology, having explored many prehistoric mounds in the vicinity of his birthplace. He continued his studies and investigations in this direction during the time he was in Europe. Upon his return to this country he was appointed curator of archæology in the Smithsonian Institution. Since he gave his attention to the study of archæology he has written several books which have been published under the auspices of the U. S. National Museum, among which the following may be mentioned: "A Study of Prehistoric Anthropology," (1888); "Results of an Inquiry as to the Existence of Man in North America During the Paleolithic Period of the Stone Age," (1888); "Criminal Anthropology" (1890); "Primitive Industry," (1892); "Minute Stone Implements from India," (1892); "The Swastika, the Earliest Known Symbol," (1895); "Prehistoric Art, or the Origin of Art as Manifested in the Works of Prehistoric Man," (1897), and "Arrowpoints, Spearheads and Knives of Prehistoric Time," (1898). Col. Wilson made a success of everything he ever undertook. He was an excellent mechanic, a good lawyer, a soldier who made a proud record in active service, and he won a high place among the scientific men of America. He took an active interest in the Historical Department of Iowa, and had made to its collections several important additions.

LUCIEN L. AINSWORTH was born in New Woodstock, New York, June 21, 1831; he died in West Union, Fayette county, Iowa, April 19, 1902. Mr. Ainsworth received his education in the public schools of New York and the Oneida Conference seminary at Cazenovia, N. Y. Studying law, he was admitted to the bar in Madison county, N. Y., in 1854. In 1855 he came to Belvidere, Ill., whence after a few months of practice he removed

to West Union, which was afterwards his home. During the civil war he recruited a company and was commissioned captain of Co. C, 6th Iowa Cavalry, Jan. 31, 1863. He took part during the following year in the campaign against the Indians, and was mustered out with his regiment at Sioux City, Oct. 7, 1865. He was elected to the State senate in 1859, where he served four years. As a member of the judiciary committee he bore an important part in the revision of the laws. In 1871 he was chosen a representative in the 14th general assembly, where he again served on the judiciary committee which prepared the Code of 1873. The following year he was elected to congress from the Third Iowa district, serving one term, declining a renomination. Mr. Ainsworth was well known throughout the State as an able lawyer, a genial, excellent gentleman, and a man of many friends.

COL. ELLIOTT SHURTZ died at the Soldiers' Home in Marshalltown, April 12, 1902. He was a native of Ohio, and at the time of his death was 74 years of age. He enlisted from his native state and served through the Mexican war with credit. At the outbreak of the rebellion he went to the front with Co. H, 13th Iowa Infantry, of which he was lieutenant. He participated in the battle of Shiloh, in which he bore a very active part, and was so severely wounded that he had to retire from the service for a time. Upon his recovery, he raised and organized Co. I, 8th Iowa Cavalry, and returned to the front as its captain. He participated in the memorable Atlanta campaign, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner. A portion of one hand was shot away. After his return from the front he resided in Marshalltown until his death. General Grant appointed him postmaster of that city during his first term as president, in which position Col. Shurtz remained for twelve years. He served also as a member of the city council. Few men of his rank in the Union army came out of it with a prouder record. At his final muster-out he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel.

TALTON E. CLARK was born in Nicholasville, Ky., Oct. 18, 1845; he died in Los Angeles, Cal., April 20, 1902. In 1854 his parents settled in Missouri, where he passed his boyhood. When the war broke out his family removed to Nebraska. In 1867 he came to Clarinda, where his father had charge of the Presbyterian church. In 1868 he entered the law office of Col. Wm. P. Hepburn and in 1870 was admitted to the bar. For thirty-five years he has been a resident of Clarinda and a recognized leader of the bar of southwestern Iowa. As a pleader, and in his power over a jury, his success was remarkable. For eight years he represented the Fremont-Page district in the State senate, serving in the 19th, 20th, 21st and 22d general assemblies. His legislative record was a brilliant one. He was an earnest advocate of temperance and sustained the prohibitory law. Senator Clark was an eloquent speaker, with a droll humor that gave him great power over audiences. For years he had been a member of the school board and was always interested in the cause of education.

ISRAEL ANDERSON was born in Greene county, Pa., Feb. 28, 1815; he died in Keokuk, Iowa, June 25, 1902. He came to Van Buren county, Iowa, in 1837 but after 1840 resided in Keokuk. At the time of his death he was the oldest settler of Lee county. In 1849 he was elected sheriff, serving for two years. In 1858 he made a trip by wagon to Pike's Peak. When the war broke out he was mustered into service as captain of Co. C, Third Iowa Cavalry, and served until 1863, when he was severely wounded. On returning home he was again elected sheriff. At the end of his term he started in a small way the business now well known as the Anderson Canning works. Captain Anderson was a natural soldier, fond of adventure

and danger. At the time of the boundary trouble between Iowa and Missouri, the governor of Iowa appointed him to an important military position. He helped to capture the sheriff of Clark county, Mo., for trying to collect taxes from Iowa residents. He was well acquainted with the Indian chiefs Black Hawk and Keokuk.

JOHN MEYER was born near Bellefonte, Pa., Feb. 26, 1824; he died in Newton, Iowa, May 14, 1902. His early years were spent on his father's farm. In 1847 he entered Oberlin college, and graduated from that institution in 1853. In 1856 he removed to Newton, Iowa, where he taught for a year in Williamsburg academy and then engaged in merchandizing. He represented Jasper county in the regular and extra sessions of the 9th general assembly. When the war broke out he helped to organize three companies and was elected captain of company K, 20th Iowa Infantry. His military record was a brilliant one, including service in many of the most noted battles. He was discharged with a lieut. colonel's commission at the close of the war. Soon after reaching home he was elected State senator, serving in the 11th and 12th general assemblies, and again in the 17th and 18th. For years he was a trustee of Iowa college at Grinnell. In early days he was an abolitionist and all his life an advocate of the temperance cause. A year after the war the brevet of colonel was conferred upon him.

DANIEL A. POORMAN was born in Lancaster, Ohio, August 5, 1831; he died in Des Moines, May 4, 1902. Mr. Poorman received his education in Williams college and in Wittenberg college, Springfield, Ohio. From the last named institution he graduated in 1854. He then went to California for a short time, but soon returned to Ohio. In 1857 he came west and settled in Indianola, Iowa. The same year he was elected surveyor of Warren county. In 1861-62 he served as deputy state treasurer; in 1867-68 he was employed by the government as book keeper at Forts D. A. Russell and Kearney. In 1870 he returned to Des Moines where he resided until his death. He was considered one of the most expert book keepers in the State, and his services were required in examining records for boards of supervisors in several counties. For ten years past he had examined the books for the Latter Day Saints, at Lamoni.

HOWARD WINSLOW TILTON was born in Frankfort, Maine, June 9, 1849; he died in Council Bluffs, June 17, 1902. When a child the family removed to Milwaukee, where his father became well known in the state as a prominent Methodist minister. Mr. Tilton graduated from Lawrence university, Appleton, Wis., in 1874, and began newspaper work soon after on *The Chicago Post*. He afterwards worked on the Janesville, Wis., *Gazette*. Twenty years ago he came to Council Bluffs and took charge of the Council Bluffs department of *The Omaha Bee*. Since 1896 he had been editor of *The Nonpareil*. His literary and executive ability were of a high order, and he will be greatly missed from the ranks of Iowa journalists. His well known "Lay Sermons" first appeared in *The Nonpareil*, and were afterwards published in book form. Mr. Tilton had for several years been a trustee of Tabor college.

E. L. SMITH was born in Poland, O., March 30, 1830; he died in Des Moines, May 5, 1902. Mr. Smith had been in the employ of the U. S. Express Company more than 45 years, during 37 of which he had resided in Des Moines. In this capacity he had become widely known throughout the State. He was distinguished for his fidelity to the interests of his employers, and for his geniality and courtesy in the transaction of the large and varied business which passed through his hands.

Historical Department of Iowa.

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Iowa Northern Border Brigade

BY CAPT. W. H. INGHAM

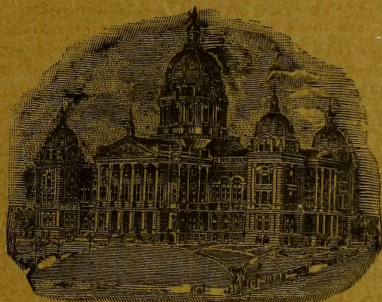
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OCTOBER, 1902.

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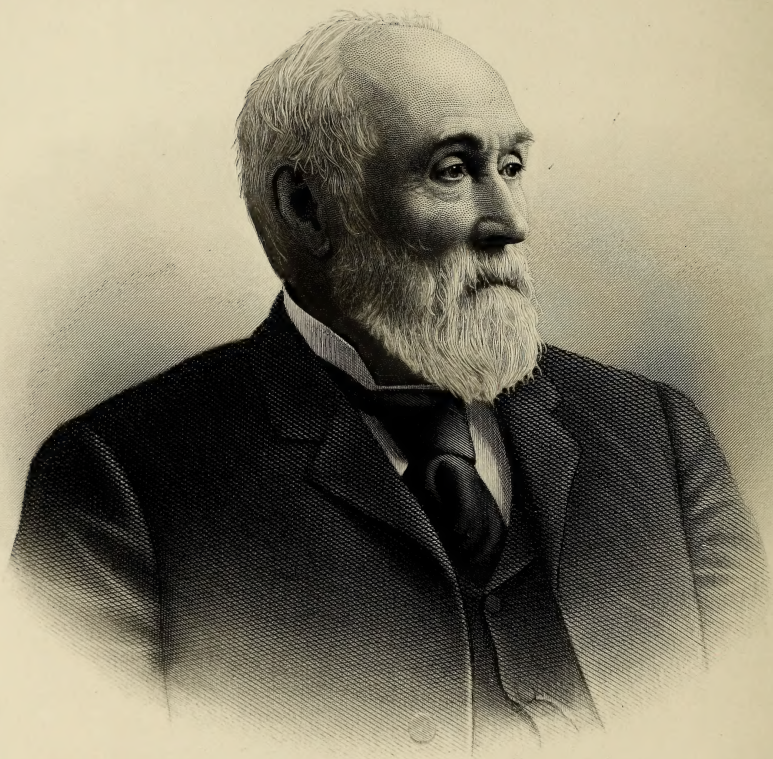
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ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. V, No. 7.

DES MOINES, IOWA, OCTOBER, 1902.

3D SERIES.

THE IOWA NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE OF 1862-3.

BY CAPT. WILLIAM H. INGHAM.

The news of the Sioux outbreak in Minnesota, under the leadership of Little Crow, reached the Algona settlement in the latter part of August, 1862. It received but little attention at the time, however, more than to be passed along from one to another with such comment as each saw fit to make. Ordinarily it would have created quite a stir among the border settlers of the State, but the war in the south, for which urgent calls were being made for more men, absorbed attention. President Lincoln had made a call for three hundred thousand in June, and again for as many more on August 4, with an order for a draft to meet any deficiency in case the quotas of the different states were not filled by August 15. Governor Kirkwood had issued several proclamations to the people of Iowa in which he made strong and earnest appeals for prompt enlistments to fill up the new regiments forming and the depleted ranks of the old ones that were fighting at the front. He also expressed a great desire that Iowa might furnish her quota of men without delay, and so avoid the necessity of making a draft. This, with the prospect of a long continued struggle, caused a depression that made it the darkest hour of the entire war. Under these conditions it was hardly possible for an Indian disturbance not close at hand to get the attention of even the border settlers of the State, who were naturally so largely interested.

At that time Algona was dependent on a tri-weekly mail

from Fort Dodge and a semi-weekly from Blue Earth City to bring the news. As railroads and telegraph lines were almost unknown west of the Mississippi, it was slow in coming as compared with the present time. Later mails seemed to confirm the first report of the outbreak, and when it was learned that a large section of country had been overrun by the Indians, all the settlements destroyed and many people massacred; that New Ulm was being closely besieged, and that the settlers on the Blue Earth river and for some distance to the east had abandoned their homes, it created an alarm all along the exposed border of the State. It was very evident that only prompt action of some kind that would tend to allay the fears of the people could possibly hold the settlements and prevent a like panic and stampede in Iowa. For this purpose the people of the county, especially those subject to military duty, were hurriedly notified to gather at the town hall in Algona to organize a military company and for such further action as might be thought best for the security of the settlements. About the same time similar action was taken by the citizens of Emmet county at Estherville, in order to hold the settlements on the west branch of the Des Moines river. At the appointed time for the meeting at Algona, nearly all of those notified and many others were present. On motion of J. E. Stacy, Dr. J. R. Armstrong was called to the chair. He briefly stated the situation and the object of the meeting. Enlistments were then made and the company was fully organized in a very short time, without a dissenting voice. As the new company had no arms or ammunition, Lewis H. Smith was chosen to go to Des Moines and procure a supply, and also to do whatever else might be necessary to put the company in proper form. It then fell to the lot of William B. Carey and myself to go to Mankato and see the disturbed section of country, and learn the extent of the trouble and also what was being done for the protection of the Minnesota border, that the people in our own State might be better informed as to what should be done.

On the following morning Mr. Carey and I were off on horseback and crossed the thirty miles of unsettled prairie to Hagen's place, at the upper grove on the Blue Earth river. From there on the vacant homes and stock at large showed too plainly what had taken place. We found a company of militia, at Blue Earth City where we stopped over night, busily engaged in preparing for defense and in caring for the town. As we passed through Winnebago City on our way to Mankato the next day, we saw a mounted field piece standing at the roadside with about a bushel of cast iron broken up into small pieces, lying at its side, to be used instead of shot and shell; it gave the place quite a warlike appearance. On reaching Mankato we learned that the Sioux had withdrawn from their attack upon New Ulm and that the citizens and fugitives, some two thousand in all, had abandoned the town and gone to different parts in the older settlements of the state, taking with them many from Mankato as they passed through. The next morning we were told that there were several at the hospital who had been wounded at Lake Shetek. We called on them and found among the number, Mr. Ireland, who had the reputation of being "one man that the Indians could not kill." He seemed to be fully entitled to this distinction, as he had walked about fifty miles, with others, in making his escape, after having been wounded some eight times. We found him quite feeble, as he told us in a faltering voice that the settlements on the west branch of the Des Moines river from Lake Shetek to the Iowa boundary, and in the country from the lake to New Ulm, through which he had traveled while getting away, had all been broken up by the Indians and the greater part of the settlers had been killed. We were not able to find any person in town who could furnish us with definite information such as was wanted. So on learning that there were likely to be troops stationed at New Ulm some twenty-five miles up the Minnesota river, we decided to go there and see more of the effects of the outbreak. On our way the broken down fences

and the appearance of the road and fields near by all went to show the intense excitement of the people as they hurried and crowded on their way, after leaving the town, and the terrifying scenes which they had witnessed. When we arrived at the once thrifty town of fifteen hundred inhabitants, we found only the business houses, a large hotel and a brick building left to mark its location. The blackened ruins of homes, and the bullet marked buildings, showed plainly the effects of the two different attacks made by the Sioux for its capture. It may be of interest to introduce a brief sketch of the time and manner in which these attacks were made.

The Sioux commenced their depredations and murderous work early on the morning of August 18, 1862, at the Lower Mission, and then worked down the Minnesota River during the day to within six miles of New Ulm, burning the homes and killing many of the settlers on their way. During the afternoon several fugitives reached the town and told the people what was being done up the river. Soon after, many more began to arrive. This created the wildest excitement and caused the entire population to gather at the business center, where they quickly went to work putting up a barricade around a large square for protection. On the following day the work on the barricades was vigorously pushed forward without any signs of Indians until the middle of the afternoon, when columns of smoke were seen to rise above the timber in different localities. As other columns were soon noticed nearer by, the imprisoned people well knew what to expect. By six o'clock one hundred Indians or more made their appearance and began burning the buildings at the outskirts of the town. They then undertook to reach the central part, fighting with the citizens from house to house as they went, and using the dense smoke from the burning buildings as a screen to protect themselves from being seen. The consternation in the camp at this point was at its highest pitch. Fortunately, just at this time Mr. Boardman with fifteen mounted men came into town from

St. Peter. He and his men, without stopping, went charging down the street firing their guns rapidly as they went. This brought out all the available forces from the barricaded square, and they at once joined in the fight. Altogether they drove the Indians back, who evidently thought large reinforcements had arrived and so took to their horses and went away after a loss of several killed and wounded on both sides. About nine o'clock the camp was greatly relieved by the arrival of Judge Flandreau from St. Peter with one hundred men. He was then chosen to take command. Early on the following morning about one hundred men from Mankato and LeSeur arrived and joined the forces. As there were no Indians in sight all hands were set at work strengthening the barricades. This, with scouting the country a few miles out, burying the dead and caring for the camp, kept the force busy until the 23d inst., when Little Crow with some five hundred warriors made his appearance. After considerable skirmishing outside of the town they finally obliged Judge Flandreau and his men to fall back and seek shelter within the town. They then nearly surrounded the town when a desperate fight began which lasted until dark with no marked advantage on either side. Judge Flandreau now ordered the barricaded square to be made as small as possible about the two thousand people huddled together, and the surplus material to be used for strengthening the works. He then ordered all wooden buildings standing outside of the square to be burned. This was done in order to prevent the Indians from carrying on a skulking fight from house to house as they had done the day before and oblige them to come out into an open field. The prompt action of Judge Flandreau undoubtedly saved the town from a general massacre, as the Indians after making a feeble attack and firing random shots from the hill at the west during the next forenoon, withdrew and went off northward. The authorities after burying the dead and caring for the wounded decided it would be best for the people to abandon the town, as there

were no means at hand for taking proper care of so many sick and wounded persons. A complete abandonment was made on the 25th inst., five days previous to the arrival of Mr. Carey and myself. We found Captain Dane with a squad of cavalry in command; he kindly invited us to stop with him over night at the hotel building where he and his men were making their headquarters. During the evening we listened to the reports of those who had been out on detail, ranging through the desolated settlements for the purpose of burying the dead and rescuing any who had escaped. From these reports it was very evident that the Indians had lost none of their usual cunning in devising means to torture, before their death, many of their unfortunate victims, especially women and children. Judging from the number of dead already reported, Captain Dane was of the opinion that the massacre would prove to be the largest in the history of the country. Later it was found to number eight hundred victims or more, making it nearly three times as great as the famous Wyoming Valley massacre in 1778.

It being important that we should return soon, we decided to take a direct course for Algona by way of Iowa Lake and so save time. Learning that a couple of soldiers were detailed to burn a building in which they had found the putrid body of one of the unfortunates, early the next morning, a mile or two out on our way, we arranged to be called in time to breakfast with the company mess and go with them. In starting out through the town we passed a line of the barricade that had not been disturbed. It was made up in sections of cord wood, lumber, wagon wheels, piled up layer upon layer, and kegs of nails set upright, tier upon tier, with broken joints. Quite a large section was built up with trunks and boxes filled with goods from the stores, that were still exposed to the weather. More than one hundred and fifty lumber wagons had entered into its make-up, with everything else available. The wagons had been taken away for the purpose of carrying the women and

children as well as the sick and wounded, at the time the town was abandoned. We soon brought up at the doomed building and saw its lonely occupant lying upon the floor. He added one more to the list of the unknown dead, as there was nothing about his person by which he might be identified. We now left our escort to perform their task while we went on our way. During the forenoon we came to a newly made, unoccupied, log structure, marked "Fort Madelia," in large letters, evidently having been put up by the settlers for a place of refuge where they might be better prepared to defend themselves in case the Indians should make an attack. At noon we went to a farm to feed our horses. In looking about we noticed a large field of grain ready for the stack. In the yard there were several finished stacks; one was partly finished with the rack over turned near-by and a part of the load lying under it on the ground. Going to the house not far away we passed through the open front gate and walked up to the open door; the spirit of the home seemed to say, "Just in time. Walk in. Dinner is ready and waiting for you." We went in and found the table fully prepared for the meal; a large baked goose was lying on the platter, with carving knife and fork at its side. Had it not been waiting so long and had Captain Dane not cautioned us about eating anything found at the homes on our way, on account of possible poison, we should have been inclined to accept the seeming invitation. As it was, we preferred a vegetable lunch such as we could find in the well kept garden near-by. Everything about this home seemed to be in order and undisturbed, so that from what we had seen it became an easy matter to read the circumstances under which the family had left. The last load of grain before dinner was being put into the stack. The conque shell lying on the shelf had been used in giving the dinner call. When the grain was about two-thirds unloaded parties came out of the oak openings near-by and gave the alarm of Indians. A few persons stopped to raise the rack

from the wagon and turn it off. The wagon box was hurriedly put on, the folks from the house rushed out, not stopping to take anything with them or even to close the door, and all were off. Thousands of people over a large part of the state of Minnesota abandoned their homes in a similar manner at all hours of day and night, whenever the alarm was given. There was an immense loss of property in consequence, but this was nothing in comparison with the injury and suffering from exposure and excitement on the part of the people themselves. After lunch our course led us across a large unsettled prairie, as at that time no settlements had been made away from the timber.

It may be presumed that from the time we left New Ulm we were alert in noticing whatever might be going on about us, so that when we saw some large, dark objects in front, crossing our course to the east, and so far away in the smoky, dusty air that we could not make out what they were, we gave them our closest attention. We watched them carefully for some distance, with the thought of Indians uppermost in our minds. Whatever they were, however, it was quieting to know that they were going away from us at good speed. But when they were seen to stop and soon after turn about and retrace their course partly toward us we were decidedly anxious. We rode on quickly to where we could plainly see them when passing in front and stopped. We did not have to wait long, however, before we were well pleased to see the objects that we had been watching develop into two teams and wagons, with several men in each. The men were standing up, beating, prodding and urging their teams in a way to bring out their best possible speed. It now became a puzzling matter for us to determine what the cause might be for such a terrible fright. If it was from seeing us we could not account for their stopping and then turning back partly toward us. It was more likely that they had seen Indians in front or something mistaken for them, from whom they were trying to make their escape. If they had really

seen Indians we felt it to be rather important for us to know it and to plan accordingly, as we were not armed. Under the circumstances Mr. Carey and I decided to overtake them as quickly as possible and learn the cause of their fright, so that if it came from us we could make ourselves known and thereby relieve them and also save their teams from further violent work. When we rode up to their side and called on them to stop, they only made a greater effort in urging their teams forward. Finding we could not get their attention in this way, we rode up partly in front of the horses, and managed to make ourselves known, when their teams were slowly brought to a halt. We found the party to be made up of Norwegians who hardly knew how to give expression to their feelings when they found they were not to be harmed. When they recovered sufficiently to talk we were told that on first seeing us they became very much alarmed, thinking we were Indians, and so hurried their teams as best they could on their way. After going some distance it occurred to them that the whole country was being overrun by Sioux and that it would be useless for them to go any farther expecting to escape. They then quickly unloaded their goods and started back hoping to reach their cabins, some five miles from where we were, up the Watonwan River. They also told us that when the first alarm of Indians reached their settlement they had taken their families to Albert Lea but had returned to get a supply of bedding and other articles for their use, and were on their way back when they first saw us coming from the north. We now got off from our horses while they got out of their wagons and so we met and became acquainted, with a vigorous handshake over the affair. As I remember, it was a pretty good feeling group just then on the prairie of the Watonwan. After talking it over they decided to go back to their homes and stay over night and invited us to go with them, which we did. It proved to be very fortunate for us as we found good quarters for the night and were well cared for by our newly made friends. On the following

morning, before parting with them, they asked to be advised as to the safety of their returning and wintering their stock on the farms. We answered them at once that we should not like to take the risk. They evidently did return, however, and quite likely lost their lives by so doing, in the following March, as a report came out at that time that the Sioux had killed a party of Norwegians at the head waters of the Watonwan.

Our trip from here on, through an unsettled section of country to Iowa Lake was uneventful; there we stayed over night at the Thompson home. We had now traveled beyond the places where Captain Dane's cautious advice could apply and so made free use of the abundance of supplies found at this home. From that place we reached home by one more day's travel, on Sept. 2, 1862, making six days in all from the start. We found that Mr. Smith had returned from Des Moines without being able to do anything for the company, as Governor Kirkwood had called Mr. S. R. Ingham of Des Moines to his aid and had commissioned him to take full charge of the Northern Border disturbance, as shown by the following order, dated August 29, 1862, the day before Mr. Carey and myself started for Minnesota:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, August 29, 1862.

S. R. Ingham, Esq.:

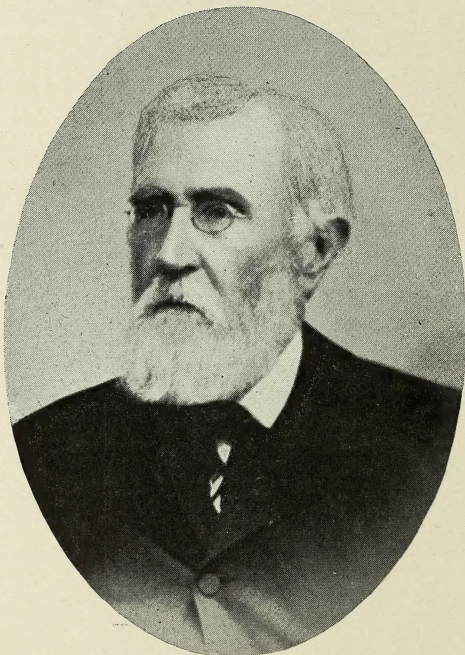
SIR:—I am informed there is probable danger of an attack by hostile Indians, on the inhabitants of the Northwestern portion of our State. Arms and powder will be sent to you at Fort Dodge. Lead and caps will be sent with you. I hand you an order on the Auditor of State for one thousand dollars.

You will please proceed at once to Fort Dodge and to such other points there as you may deem proper. Use the arms, ammunition and money placed at your disposal in such manner as your judgment may dictate as best to promote the object in view, to-wit: the protection of the inhabitants of the frontier. It would be well to communicate with Captain Millard commanding the company of mounted men raised for U.S. service at Sioux City. Place any men you may deem it advisable to raise under his command. Use your discretion in all things, and exercise any power I could exercise if I were present, according to your best discretion.

Please report to me in writing.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.



JAMES A. SAWYERS.

He served in the Mexican War; First Lieutenant Sioux City Volunteer Cavalry, 1861-62; Lieutenant-Colonel Iowa Northern Border Brigade, 1862-63; died in California, March 27, 1898.

Under this order from Gov. Kirkwood, Mr. Ingham came to the north part of the State and after consulting with the people in several of the northern counties arrived in Algona on Sept. 2, 1862, the date of our return from New Ulm. On meeting him we made a brief verbal report as to what we had seen and learned about the massacre in Minnesota. A meeting of the people was then called to be held at the town hall next day, Sept. 3, at which Mr. Ingham, after listening to the views of several speakers as to what should be done to quiet the excitement and for the protection of the settlers, authorized the enlistment of forty men to be furnished by Humboldt, Palo Alto, Kossuth and Emmet counties. These were recruited without delay and were quickly organized into a company and sent out to Iowa Lake and Estherville to meet the pressing emergency. Under a subsequent order, dated Sept. 12, 1862, from Gov. Kirkwood, Mr. Ingham organized four more companies for the border service, stationing one company at Iowa Lake and the remaining companies at posts along the exposed border of the settlements from Spirit Lake to Sioux City. After Lt.-Col. James A. Sawyers* had been elected and had taken command of the forces, Mr. Ingham filed his report with Gov. Kirkwood. This report furnishes a full and complete history of all that was done up to that time for the protection of the northern border of the State, as follows:

To His Excellency, S. J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:

SIR:—Under your instructions placed in my hands August 29, 1862, I have the honor to report, that in compliance therewith, I at once proceeded to the northern border of our State to ascertain the extent of the supposed

* James A. Sawyers was born in Tennessee, Dec. 16, 1824. He died in California on the 7th day of March, 1898, and was buried at Sioux City on the 3d day of April, 1898. He served in the Mexican war in Company E, First Tennessee Cavalry. On Sept. 27, 1861, he enlisted in the Sioux City Volunteer Cavalry to go south in the war of the rebellion. But at this time the Indians were troublesome on the frontier and the company was required in Indian service. He was elected first lieutenant by his company, and served until Aug. 1862. He was urged by Gov. Kirkwood to accept a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Northern Border Brigade of the Iowa State Militia, which he did Sept. 1, 1862. He was mustered out Sept. 19, 1863. The most important service Col. Sawyers ever rendered the government of the United States was doubtless the opening of the road from the mouth of the Niobrara river to Virginia City in Montana.

difficulties, and to do the needful for the protection of our frontier settlements, should circumstances warrant or demand.

I visited Dickinson, Emmet, Palo Alto, Kossuth, Humboldt, and Webster counties, found many of the inhabitants in a high state of excitement, and laboring under constant fear of an attack by Indians. Quite a number of families were leaving their homes and moving into the more thickly settled portions of the State.

This feeling, however, seemed to be more intense and to run higher in the more inland and remote counties from the border, than in the border counties themselves. In Emmet and Kossuth, both border counties, I had the settlers called together in order that I might learn from them their views and wishes as to what ought to be done for their safety, or rather what was necessary to satisfy and quiet their fears and apprehensions. They expressed themselves freely and were very temperate in their demands.

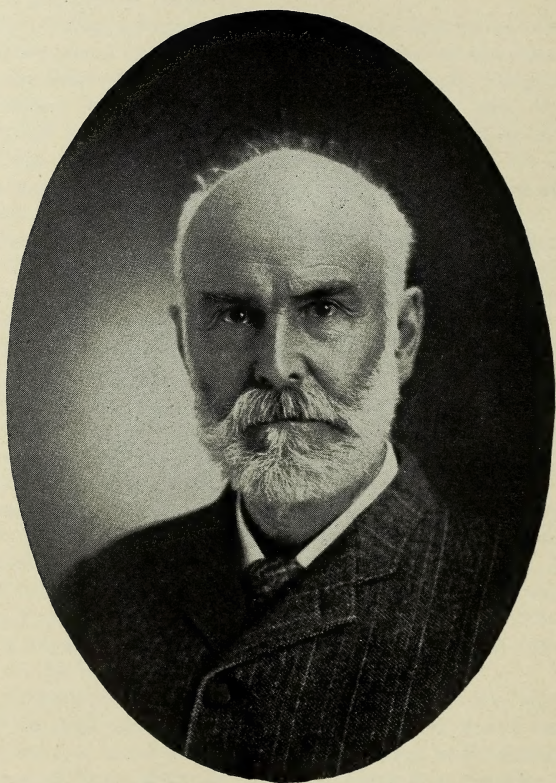
They said all they wanted or deemed necessary for the protection of the northern border was a small force of mounted men stationed on the east and west forks of the Des Moines river, to act in concert with the United States troops, then stationed at Spirit Lake; but that this force must be made up of men, such as they could choose from amongst themselves, who were familiar with the country and had been engaged in hunting and trapping for years, and were more or less familiar with the habits and customs of the Indians, one of which men would be worth half a dozen such as the State had sent up there on one or two former occasions.

In a small force of this kind they would have confidence, but would not feel safe with a much larger force of young and inexperienced men, such as are usually raised in the more central portions of the State. I at once authorized a company to be raised in Emmet, Kossuth, Palo Alto and Humboldt counties. Within five days forty men were enlisted; held an election for officers, were mustered in, furnished with arms and ammunition, and placed on duty,—twenty at Chain Lakes and twenty at Estherville on the west fork of the Des Moines river.

I authorized them to fill up the company to eighty men, if necessity should demand such an addition to the force. At Spirit Lake, in Dickinson county, I found some forty men stationed under command of Lieut. Sawyers of Capt. Millard's company, Sioux City Cavalry in the United States service. From the best information I could obtain I deemed this a sufficient force and therefore took no action to increase the protection at this point, further than to furnish the settlers with thirty stand of arms, and a small amount of ammunition, for which I took a bond as hereinafter stated.

Not being able to see Captain Millard, he being at Sioux City, I did not place the company raised under his command, but simply made an arrangement with Lieut. Sawyers by which the forces were to act together until such time as I should be able to see the captain.

I found that arms and ammunition had been distributed in several of the counties by the State, but owing to the reckless waste of ammunition



LEWIS H. SMITH,

Pioneer settler of Kossuth county; First Lieutenant and Quartermaster of the Iowa Northern Brigade. Mustered into State service September 7, 1862.

in shooting game, and the total want of care for the arms, when the time came when they were needed, they were either not to be found, or when found were almost wholly unfit for service. The arms in many instances, as I was reliably informed, had been carried or traded off, and as to ammunition, they had none; it had all been wasted on small game. In order to avoid this in the future, I advised the collecting together of the arms, putting them in order, and in all localities thickly settled enough to make it practicable, that they be deposited, together with what ammunition might be found, in some one place in charge of some reliable person, who should make it his business to look after and take care of them. This, in my opinion, is the only way that State arms can be made of much avail to the great majority of the settlers, particularly in all localities where the population is sufficiently dense to warrant it. In this way they would always be in order and ready for use. It would be economy on the part of the State, to pay even a reasonable compensation to some good man in each locality where distribution is made, to take charge of and hold himself responsible for them.

The settlers of Emmet and Kossuth counties were very desirous of having arms distributed to them, but owing to the limited number of arms and the small amount of ammunition at my disposal, I was unable to do so.

At Ft. Dodge, I received from the adjutant general, arms and ammunition as follows, to-wit:

One hundred and ninety-four Austrian rifles, 43 Springfield muskets, 3 kegs of powder, 293 lbs. of lead, 2,000 percussion caps, 5,000 cartridges. I received from Hon. J. H. Hatch, acting quartermaster at Des Moines, 1,000 cartridges, and of the clerk of the district court of Webster county, 2,600 percussion caps belonging to the State. I purchased at Ft. Dodge 10 lbs. of buck shot. Of the above described articles, the following were delivered to the commanding officer of the company stationed at Chain Lakes and Estherville, to-wit:

Sixty Austrian rifles, 20 Springfield muskets, 2,000 cartridges, 26½ lbs. powder, 30 lbs. lead, 2,500 percussion caps, 10 lbs. buck shot.

The following were delivered to Adolphus Jenkins for the use of settlers in Emmet county: Seven lbs. powder, 10 lbs. lead, 300 percussion caps.

To Martin Coonan for the use of settlers in Palo Alto county: Five lbs. powder, 10 lbs. lead, 300 percussion caps, and to Henry Barkman and Leonidas Congleton, for the use of settlers in Dickinson county: Ten Austrian rifles, 20 Springfield muskets, 15 lbs. powder, 20 lbs. lead, 500 percussion caps.

Bonds were taken for the arms and ammunition distributed as aforesaid.

All the arms and ammunition remaining on hand were subsequently turned over to Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith.

Having done all that seemed necessary for the protection of the settlers of the more exposed of the northern border counties, I returned to Fort Dodge on the 8th day of September, intending to proceed at once to Sioux

City, and make all necessary arrangements for the protection of the settlements on the northwestern border.

At that point I was informed that the legislature, then in extra session, had passed a bill providing for the raising of troops for the protection of our borders against hostile Indians. I therefore deemed it best to report myself to you for further instructions, and did so report on the 10th day of September. On the 13th day of that month you placed in my hands the following instructions, together with your General Orders No. 1.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, Sept. 12, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 1.

1. The number of companies that will be received for service under the Act to provide for the protection of the northwestern frontier of Iowa from the hostile Indians, passed at the extra session of 1862, and the Acts amendatory thereof, is as follows, viz: One to be raised at Sioux City, one at Denison, Crawford county, one at Fort Dodge, one at Webster City, and one now stationed at Chain Lakes and Estherville.

2. These companies shall contain not less than forty nor more than eighty each. They will elect the company officers allowed, and in the manner prescribed by law. As soon as company elections are held, certificates of the result must be sent to the Adjutant General for commissions. After being mustered and sworn in, they will proceed, on a day to be fixed by S. R. Ingham, to vote at their several places of rendezvous by ballot for a Lieutenant-Colonel to command the whole. The returns of this election will be made to such point as Mr. Ingham may direct, and these canvassed by five tellers, one to be selected by each company, and the result sent to the Adjutant General. The highest number of votes cast for any one candidate shall elect.

3. The men and horses will be inspected and mustered in by Mr. Ingham. They must be fit for the proposed duty, also equipments.

4. The points at which the troops will be stationed, will, in the first place, be fixed by Mr. Ingham, and afterwards by the Lieutenant-Colonel elect.

5. Sufficient tools will be furnished to enable the men at such points as may be designated to erect block houses for quarters, and inclose grounds with a stockade. These houses and grounds are intended as rallying points in the future for the settlers in cases like the present, at which they can maintain themselves until help can reach them. This, in my judgment, is the only way in which security can ever be given to the border. The State cannot, and the United States will not, maintain an army all the time in the field for their protection, and unless some means can be devised by which the settlers can be prevented from abandoning their homes in case of alarm, it will be long before settlements will be made. These block houses, it seems to me, afford a means by which this may be done.

6. The officers and men composing these companies, so long as they remain in service, shall devote themselves exclusively to their duty. It is made the duty of each officer commanding a company or squad stationed at any post, to keep a daily record of absentees, with the causes for which leaves of absence have been given. Leaves of absence must not be given merely for the convenience of the person seeking it, but for sickness only; or for some cause affecting the public interest, which must in each case be stated on the returns. Absentees without leave must be noted on the rolls in all cases, and their pay will be stopped for the time they were absent, and for an equal time after their return, unless excused for some cause which in all cases must be reported to the Governor for his approval.

Consolidated monthly reports will be made by each company up to

the first day of each and every month, which reports must be transmitted to the Adjutant General within ten days thereafter.

Drunkenness of either officers, non-commissioned officers or privates, while on duty, will be deemed sufficient cause for dismissal from service without compensation or pay.

7. Each man shall be required to furnish his own horse and equipments. Subsistence and forage will be furnished by the State. The same pay will be allowed for this service as is now provided for like service by the United States.

SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD, Governor of Iowa.

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS BY GOV. KIRKWOOD.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, DES MOINES, IOWA, September 13, 1862.

S. R. Ingham, Esq.:

SIR:—You are intrusted with the organization of the forces provided by law for the defense of the northwestern frontier, and with furnishing them with subsistence and forage during and after their organization; also, with the posting of the troops raised at such points as are best calculated to effect the object proposed, until the election of the officer who will command the entire force, and generally with the execution of the orders issued of this date in connection with this force.

It is impossible to foresee the contingencies that may arise, rendering necessary a change in these orders for the prompt exercise of powers not therein contained, and delay for the purpose of consulting me might result disastrously. In order to avoid these results, as far as possible, I hereby confer upon you all the powers I myself have in this regard. You may change, alter, modify, or add to the orders named, as in your sound discretion you may deem best. You may make such other and further orders as the exigencies of the case may, in your judgment, render necessary. In short, you may do all things necessary for the protection of the frontier, as fully as I could do if I were personally present, and did the same.

The first object is the security of the frontier; the second, that this object be effected as economically as is consistent with its prompt and certain attainment.

All officers and citizens are enjoined to co-operate with you, and yield to you the same assistance and obedience they would to me, and I hereby ratify and confirm all you may do in the premises.

And you are further fully authorized to employ any person or persons whom, in your judgment, you may deem necessary to assist you in the execution of your commission.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

DES MOINES, IOWA, Sept. 13, 1862.

S. R. Ingham, Esq.:

SIR:—You are hereby authorized and empowered to collect together all the arms and equipments, or so many as you may desire, belonging to the State, now in the possession of any person or persons in the northern and northwestern portions thereof, and distribute them according to your best judgment, for the use of troops and settlers in the protection of the northwestern frontier.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

In pursuance of these orders and instructions, I proceeded to Fort Dodge, and mustered and swore into the service of the State, for nine

months, unless sooner discharged, the company raised at that place, first inspecting the horses and equipments, and having them appraised.

I then proceeded with due dispatch to Webster City, Denison and Sioux City; and in like manner mustered in the companies raised at those places.

In the inspection of the horses and equipments, it was found utterly impracticable to be governed by a strict compliance with the rules and regulations which govern the United States service. In each of the companies accepted, many of the horses and equipments were of an inferior character; but being convinced that the utmost exertion had been made by the members of the companies to procure those that were better, without success, and it being evident that to reject such as were furnished would only work a detriment to the service, they were in many instances accepted with the understanding, however, in some cases, that others should soon be substituted, that would more nearly comply with the requirements of the service.

These four companies, and the one that had previously been stationed at Chain Lakes and Estherville, were all that were authorized under your General Orders, and mustered in all about two hundred and fifty men, rank and file.

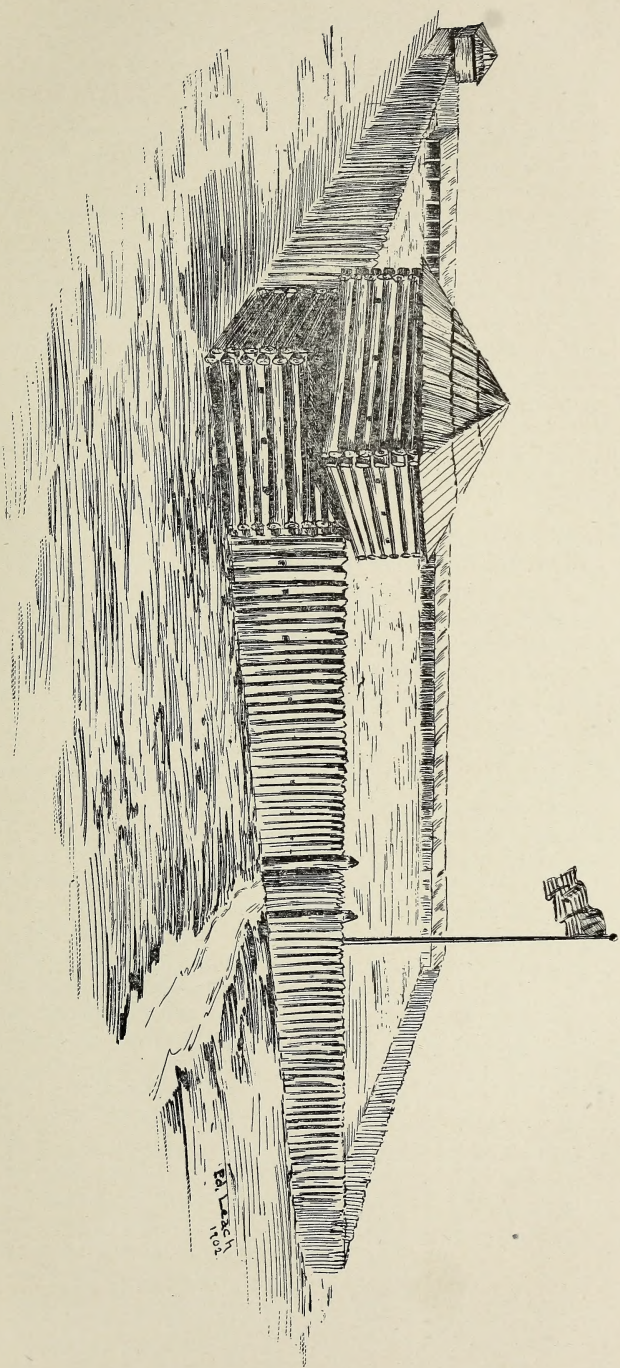
As each of the companies were sworn in, marching orders were at once given to the commanding officer, and such other orders as seemed advisable for the purpose of carrying out the objects in view, as expressed in your orders and instructions.

One company was stationed at Chain Lakes, one at Estherville, and portions of companies at each of the following points, to-wit: Acheyedan, Peterson, Cherokee, Ida, Sac City, Correctionville, West Fork, Little Sioux and Melbourne, thus forming, in conjunction with the portions of Capt. Millard's Company stationed at Sioux City and Spirit Lake, a complete line of communication between Chain Lakes and Sioux City.

After consulting the feelings and wishes of the settlers along the line, and after a careful survey of the grounds, it was determined to erect block houses and stockades at the following points, to-wit: Correctionville, Cherokee, Peterson, Estherville, and Chain Lakes.

At Spirit Lake a stockade had already been built around the court house by Lieut. Sawyers. The court house being constructed of brick makes the work of a very permanent and durable character. In making these locations, I was of course governed in a great degree by the desires and wishes of the settlers, at the expense of what might be regarded by military men as a proper location, in a strict military point of view. In conceding these points to them, I assumed that in as much as the State was constructing the works solely for their use and benefit, if the settlers themselves were satisfied, certainly the State would be.

At the points above indicated are the principal settlements on our extreme Northwestern border, and they are the only ones at which it was necessary to construct works as contemplated in your orders. This plan of protection was well received by most of the settlers, and at all the places



The stockade and works built at Correctionville, Woodbury county, Iowa, in 1862, by Company E, Northern Border Brigade, Capt. James M. White, for the purpose of a refuge and defence against hostile Indians.

named, except Peterson, they furnished the timber with which to carry it out, free of cost to the State; and not only this, but in some instances delivered it on the ground. At Peterson the parties owning the largest bodies of timber refused to furnish it without being paid five dollars per M., standing in the tree. Regarding this as ungenerous, to say the least, in as much as the use to which it was to be put was for their own benefit, I gave orders to the captain in command at that post to get what material and assistance he could from such of the settlers as showed a disposition to favor the enterprise in a practical manner, and if he found that enough timber was not furnished in that way to complete the work, to cut such additional amount as might be necessary, keeping a correct account of it and returning the same to me, together with the owner's name; and in doing so, to assess the amount as nearly equal as possible to the different owners in proportion to the number of acres owned by each.

In some of the localities, owing to the scarcity of timber, sods were used to good advantage in the construction of the works, particularly so in building the stables.

I am informed that the orders for building the block houses and stockades have all been carried into effect, and that the work in most instances is fast approaching completion.

One of the greatest obstacles to be met with in maintaining a force of mounted men on the northwestern border (and none other is fit for the service) is in providing forage at anything like reasonable cost. This was overcome, in a measure, however, by each company or squad going to work and putting up hay as soon as they reached their several posts. But owing to the lateness of the season when they were placed on duty, enough could not be obtained in this way and what they did get was of an inferior quality. Corn and oats are raised in but limited quantities as yet, in the immediate vicinity of the posts, and what surplus the inhabitants have to dispose of is held at extremely high prices, when it is considered that they have no market for it except the one created by the demand for supplies for the use of the troops. Most of the corn and oats have to be hauled from twenty to sixty miles, which increased the cost very materially by the time they are delivered at the post. Still, notwithstanding these difficulties, up to this time, Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith, through his indomitable energy and perseverance has been able to supply them at comparatively low prices; but I am apprehensive that holders will undertake to force prices up before spring, should it be necessary to keep the troops there until that time.

In accordance with your orders, I fixed Friday, the 7th of November, as the day on which the several companies should hold an election for Lieutenant Colonel to command the whole. At the election so held James A. Sawyers, 1st lieutenant of Capt. Millard's company, was chosen. And permit me to say that an excellent selection was made. In my opinion, no better man could have been found for this service.

From information in my possession, I am entirely satisfied that it will be unnecessary to keep this entire force on duty after the completion of

the block-houses and stockades, on which they are now engaged. These completed, in my opinion, unless some new phase of the Indian troubles presents itself, at least two of the companies could be mustered out without detriment to the service. There is one whole company stationed at Estherville, also one at Chain Lakes. After the completion of the works, one company could as well hold both these posts. Three companies are stationed along the line further west. One could be mustered out and the remaining two divided in such a manner as to afford all necessary protection. The increased protection afforded to the settlers by the block-houses and stockades, in case of an attack, would more than counterbalance the diminution of the force.

Herewith I hand a report from Quartermaster Lewis H. Smith, showing the amount of arms, accoutrements and ammunition received and distributed by him. All of which is respectfully submitted.

S. R. INGHAM.

From the foregoing report it will be noticed that twenty men from the first company enlisted were ordered to report at Estherville, where Lieut. Coverdale was to take command, while the balance of the company was ordered to Iowa Lake under my charge. On our arrival at the lake we took possession of the Thompson home for temporary quarters, while engaged in making hay and putting up stabling for our horses. We had been there only a few days before receiving a copy of the Governor's General Orders No. 1, dated Sept. 12, 1862. After a suitable site for the buildings and stockade, as contemplated in these orders, was selected, I left the work in charge of Lieut. McKnight and went to Estherville. Here I found Lieut. Coverdale and men occupying the school house for their quarters, which had already been stockaded by the citizens with two-inch plank, with stabling inside the inclosure for their horses. While looking about for a site for the works, as contemplated in the order, Robert E. Ridley generously offered to donate for this purpose lots one, two and three in block fifty-nine, as shown by the town plat. As this site was satisfactory to all parties concerned, his offer was accepted, when he and his wife Esther, after whom the town of Estherville takes its name, conveyed them to the State free of charge. It will be noticed in the report, that Co. B, Capt. William Williams (our old time Major Williams

of Fort Dodge), was ordered to report at Iowa Lake and complete the works there. On their arrival Lieut. McKnight and men came to Estherville, when for the first time the members of Co. A were all brought together for roll call. The people at Estherville manifested much interest in the construction of the works, and gave encouragement to the company in many ways. As this was the only post with a sawmill and plenty of timber near by, the works were laid out on rather a more extensive plan than at any of the other posts on the line. Then the larger settlements on the west branch of the Des Moines would necessarily require this, in case there should be any occasion for the settlers to make use of them thereafter as a place of refuge. From now on we were kept busy as well as the other companies in getting out material for their respective works. In addition to this there were the camp duties, drilling, scouting, target practice, and the keeping up of communication between the different posts and the U. S. forces at Fairmont, Minn., and at Sioux City. Now and then government dispatches were passed along the line, and whenever of great importance they were sent through from post to post on limited time. This service came to be known as the "pony express." A part of the brigade was supplied with Austrian rifles from Gen. Fremont's famous purchase. While they were not the best, they were probably the best that could be obtained at that time. Many of the cartridges were defective so that when discharged it became a question as to the direction in which they were likely to do the most harm, as many of the boys will remember.

It was the latter part of November before Lieut.-Col. Sawyers made his first inspection of the several posts on the line and reported to Gov. Kirkwood under date of Dec. 15, 1862. As no final report was made by him on the works at Iowa Lake, owing undoubtedly to the mustering out of this company soon after the works were completed, only that part of the report concerning the Iowa Lake post is here given.

REPORT OF LIEUT.-COL. SAWYERS.

SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Dec. 15, 1862.

To His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood:

SIR:—In compliance with an order from Col. S. R. Ingham, by order from the Governor, dated at Fort Dodge, Nov. 12, 1862, I have the honor to report that I have visited the different detachments comprising the northwestern frontier forces, and find the progress of the work up to Dec. 1, 1862, as follows:

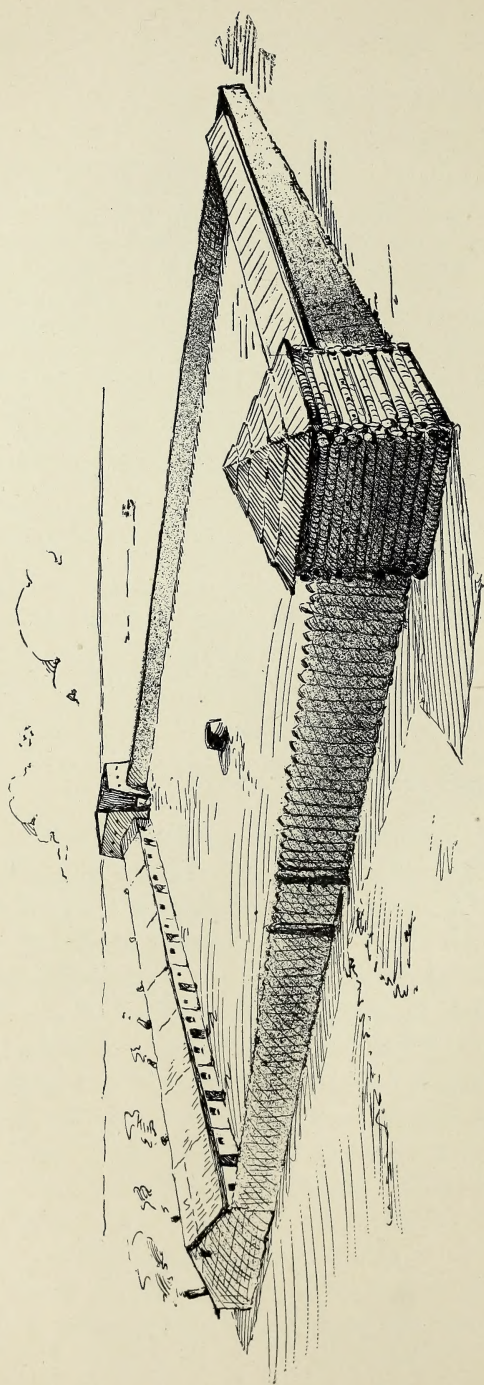
Captain Williams' company, B, stationed at Iowa Lake, have built and completed five buildings for quarters and have the timber in readiness for two more, which when completed will enclose the west side of the enclosure 160 feet. On the east side of the square they have built and completed excellent stabling, 140 feet long, with two tiers of stalls and a passage way between the tiers, enclosed with strong sod walls with port holes and by log bastions on the south end, with port holes, calculated to cover the entrance to the stable and make the east wall. The stable is substantially built, and covered with poles, grass and sod. The north side is enclosed with a wall of sod eight feet high and five feet thick at the base, with port holes. Bastion on northwest corner complete. They have done the work in a neat and substantial manner. Aside from the work done in constructing quarters and stabling this company have been engaged in digging a well, cutting and hauling hay, &c.

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Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,

Lieut.-Col. Comd'g N. W. F. Forces.

It will be noticed that Col. Sawyers, in making the foregoing report to Gov. Kirkwood, signed his name as commander of the Northwestern Frontier Forces. When the commissions for the officers of the companies were received soon after, no one seemed to be prepared to interpret the meaning of the letters "N. B. B." following the name of the company in each commission. In order to find out I wrote to Gen. Baker asking him to explain. He playfully answered by return mail, "N. B. Baker or Northern Border Brigade, just as you choose." The reading of these mysterious letters was now well understood, and the new name was passed along the line without delay. It appears that the name of the big-souled general might have had something to do with the finding of a name for the northwestern forces. However, it is quite likely to have been only a mere coincidence. From now on



SKETCH OF THE DEFENSIVE WORKS,

Stockade, block-houses, barracks and stables, erected at Iowa Lake in 1862-63, by Company B, Iowa Northern Brigade, Capt. William Williams.

the troops were known as the Northern Border Brigade, as shown by the company and brigade rosters to be found on subsequent pages. The many changes that took place in Co. A, as shown by its roster, were owing to the hurried manner in which its members left their homes to meet the great emergency, with the expectation that only a few weeks' service would be required to quiet the excitement, and more especially to the condition of their horses, which did not strictly meet the requirements of the service later on. It will be noticed the names of Howard Graves and John D. Goff do not appear on the roster of Co. A as it was made up and put in print before their enlistment. Mr. Graves served the company very efficiently as orderly sergeant from the time he joined the company in March, 1863, until it was mustered out on the 26th day of the following September.

As before stated Company B was mustered out of service when the works at Iowa Lake were finished, and thereafter the post was occupied by a small detachment from Co. A. The works at some of the smaller posts down the line had been completed so that Co. D, Capt. James M. Butler, had already been mustered out of service and their places filled by detachments from Companies C and E, so that all the posts were still occupied by State troops. The winter of 1863 quickly passed without cause for alarm from the Indians until in March, when a message from Fort Ridgely passed over the line bidding the troops to be on the lookout as the Sioux were on the move and had already massacred a party of seven Norwegians at the headwaters of the Watonwan. This brought out active operations all along the line and stirred up quite an excitement which lasted only a short time. It was an easy matter for the people now in their excited condition, to transform almost any object seen on the prairie into a lurking, stealthy savage, which gave rise to some disquieting reports. These reports were investigated and explained away whenever coming from any apparently reliable source.

One incident of this kind occurred in April, when several persons came hurrying to the quarters just at evening to see me and reported Indians near by. One of the party, who had barely escaped with others from being captured, as he seemed to think, told me that he, with Mr. and Mrs. Palmer (and I think one other), when on their way up the river to visit their claims in Minnesota, met five Indians at Twelve Mile creek, who had followed and tried to capture them before they could get back to town. He was so agitated at the time that it was difficult to get any definite information from him, but I learned that they had been traveling with a pair of cattle and when getting to the south bluff of the creek, some twelve miles up the river, they had seen the Indians across the deep cut valley on the opposite bluff about eighty rods away. While questioning him closely as to their appearance and what they did, he with the other persons present seemed almost indignant that we did not at once send out all the force in pursuit. He finally made out to tell me that the Indians were lying on the necks of their horses, which they held facing towards them, so as not to be seen, and that they plainly saw their white blankets as they drew them up from near their saddles just as they turned and started off. It took but one glance to see all this, on their part, and in alarm their poor cattle were wheeled about and urged to do their best in covering the distance to town. At the same time a little band of elk might have been seen trotting away in a northeasterly course. The white blanket part of the story told plainly the facts in the case, for whoever is acquainted with wild elk will remember well their appearance when the long yellowish-white hair in helmet form on the rump is raised up as a signal of alarm. This report caused quite an excitement for a short time until the people were partly convinced that these parties might have been mistaken and that elk instead of Indians were at the bottom of the scare. Early the next morning Chas. W. Jarvis, who was well acquainted with the river country, was sent out with oth-

ers to make an examination. When they returned and reported that they had found fresh elk tracks at the place where the Indians had been seen, the usual quiet of the people in town was fully restored, and nothing more of this kind was brought to the attention of the company.

Soon after this occurrence arrangements were made with Mr. Charles Jarvis and family, who were living at Emmet some five miles up the river, to house two or three men of the company, with frequent changes, for scouting purposes on the river above. In this way their daily trips could be extended much further up the river than when starting out from town. This service proved to be very useful in quieting any excitement in the settlements on the river below and was kept up the greater part of the time until the company was mustered out.

The work at Estherville had been delayed for some time in consequence of a new channel some four feet wide being washed out around the dam in the river under the frozen ground. We were obliged to extend the dam across this new channel before the mill could be used in sawing the lumber needed in finishing up the works. Owing to this the works were not completed until June 8, when a final report was made. The final reports of all the other works on the line had already been made by Lt. Col. Sawyers, so that the brigade was liable to be disbanded and mustered out at any time. This did not occur, however, until Sept. 26, 1863, by General Order No. 121, as shown in connection with the final reports, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE, }
SPIRIT LAKE, IOWA, April 7th, 1863. }

To His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:

DEAR SIR:—Herewith I submit my final report of the work on block houses and stockade, at Peterson, Clay county, Iowa, together with plan and specifications of same. The erection of said buildings and stockade was assigned to Co. C, commanded by Captain H. N. Crapper, and has been completed in a substantial and workmanlike manner. The block houses and officers' quarters are built of oak and ash timber, ten inches square. The buildings are roofed with soft maple boards jointed together,

and grooved on the sides to convey off the water. The stockade on the west side is built of oak timber six inches thick, sawed. On the east and south, the stockade is built of hewed timbers six inches thick. The well is 26½ feet deep; the lower half curbed with ash, the upper half with oak plank. The gate is framed together, and planked on both sides.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,
Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Brigade.

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE, }
SPIRIT LAKE, IOWA, April 7, 1863. }

To His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:

DEAR SIR:—With this, my final report on the progress and condition of work assigned to Company E, commanded by Capt. J. M. White, you will find plans of work at Correctionville and Cherokee, Iowa, together with specifications of the same. The work at the former place was commenced and completed under the supervision of Capt. J. M. White. The work at Cherokee was commenced by Capt. J. M. Butler, Company D, since the disbanding of which company, Lieut. Rustin, of Company E, has had charge of the work, and the same is now complete in accordance with plans submitted. The block house at Cherokee is made of timber one foot square, and is covered with walnut shingles. The stockade is made out of logs faced on one side; there are two rows; the faces of the rows are all brought together so as to break joints. The well is seventeen feet deep, walled with boulders. The gate is framed and planked on both sides.

The buildings at Correctionville are made of timbers one foot square, and are covered with earth. The stockade is made of logs split in two, with the faced side in. The space where those logs join is filled with timbers pinned in on the outside to break joints. The gate is made of hewed timber five inches thick. The well is sixty feet deep, curbed with hackberry.

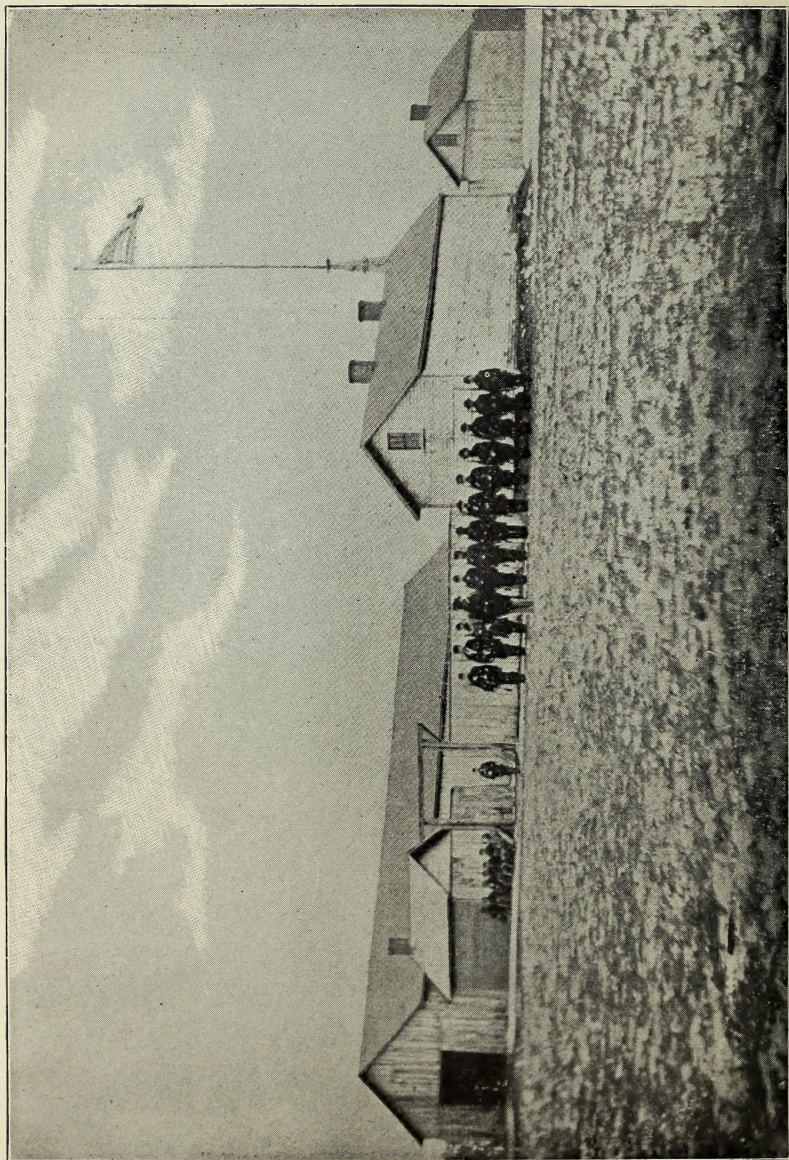
Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,
Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Brigade.

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN BRIGADE, }
SPIRIT LAKE, June 8th, 1863. }

His Excellency, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa:

DEAR SIR:—I am pleased to report that the works at Estherville, Iowa, are completed in strict accordance with the accompanying plan, of which the following is a description, and are situated upon a high gravelly bench on the east side of the Des Moines river, and about one hundred rods from it, in the village of Estherville, on Lots Nos. one, two and three, (1, 2 and 3,) Block No. fifty-nine, (59,) conveyed by Robert E. Ridley and wife to the State of Iowa. The ground inclosed is about one hundred and thirty-two feet square, upon the north side of which is located the barracks, being a building fifty-two feet in length, eighteen feet in width, made of timbers eight inches thick, and laid up in the usual manner upon foundation posts of durable wood. It is partitioned off in three rooms, above and below,



Works erected at Estherville, Emmet county, Iowa, in 1862-63, by Company A, Capt. Wm. H. Ingham, Northern Border Brigade, to protect the settlers from incursions of the hostile Indians.

with lined floors throughout; each lower room has an entrance from the inclosure, and one window; the upper part is lighted by windows in each end. The roof is made of shingle, and the body of the building is covered with black walnut siding, and has a sufficient number of port-holes from the lower rooms. It projects six feet beyond eastern line of inclosure, serving as a bastion for the eastern side; it also projects six feet over northern line. Upon each partition rests a large, substantial brick chimney. The office and commissary room (a building fourteen by thirty-two feet) projects six feet over western line, serving the purpose of a bastion, is made of square timbers eight inches thick closely fitted together, and in other respects finished the same as the barracks. The intermediate space between these two buildings is filled up with a stockade of plank eleven feet long, four inches thick, firmly set three feet in the ground, with a cap-piece spiked on top, and has a sufficient number of port-holes. The barn forms the south side, being a frame building with twelve feet posts, is twenty-six feet wide, one hundred and twenty (120) feet long, and rests upon foundation posts. The sides are covered with inch boards, with cracks battened, the ends are covered with four inch plank, forming a portion of east and west sides of work. The roof is made of shingle. There is in each end an outside door ten feet in width, also one in center of side from the inclosure eight feet wide; also a passage through the south side. Each side is partitioned off in double stalls eight feet wide, leaving a space in center through the barn ten feet wide. For the protection of the rear side of the barn, and six feet from it, is a sod wall, five feet at its base and two feet wide on top, seven and one-half feet high, with holes through the same, at the western end of which is a sod bastion covering the side of the works; the space between the wall and the barn at the ends is filled by stockade. The west side of inclosure is stockaded the same as stockade on north side. On the east side, four feet from the barn, is located the guard-house. It is fourteen feet wide, sixteen feet long, forming a portion of east side, and is put up the same as the other buildings. In the center of this side is the passage to the works, filled by two gates six feet in width and the same in height, and same material as the stockade. The balance of this side is stockade same as north side. The sinks are in the northwest corner of the barn, with passages from the yard, using a double stall for the same. The well is near the center of the yard, and is walled up with boulders, and furnishes an abundance of excellent water. The flag-staff is situated near the center of the north line of the works.

You will see from this report, together with the plan of work, that the works at Estherville are more extensive than at any other point on the line, and have been completed under many difficulties. It reflects much credit upon the taste, ability and untiring energy of the commandant of this post. The fortifications along our northwestern frontier are now complete.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES A. SAWYERS,
Lieutenant-Colonel N. B. Brigade.

THE BRIGADE DISBANDED.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
DAVENPORT, September 26, 1868. }

GENERAL ORDERS No. 121.

I. The Northern Border Brigade, as now organized, is hereby disbanded.

II. All officers of the Northern Border Brigade are hereby directed to turn over all arms, equipments, ammunition, and all other public property to Lieut. Lewis H. Smith, 2d Quartermaster of said brigade, and who is hereby continued in said office, for the company ordered to be organized by this department, under order of this date, in place of said companies of the Northern Border Brigade, hereby disbanded.

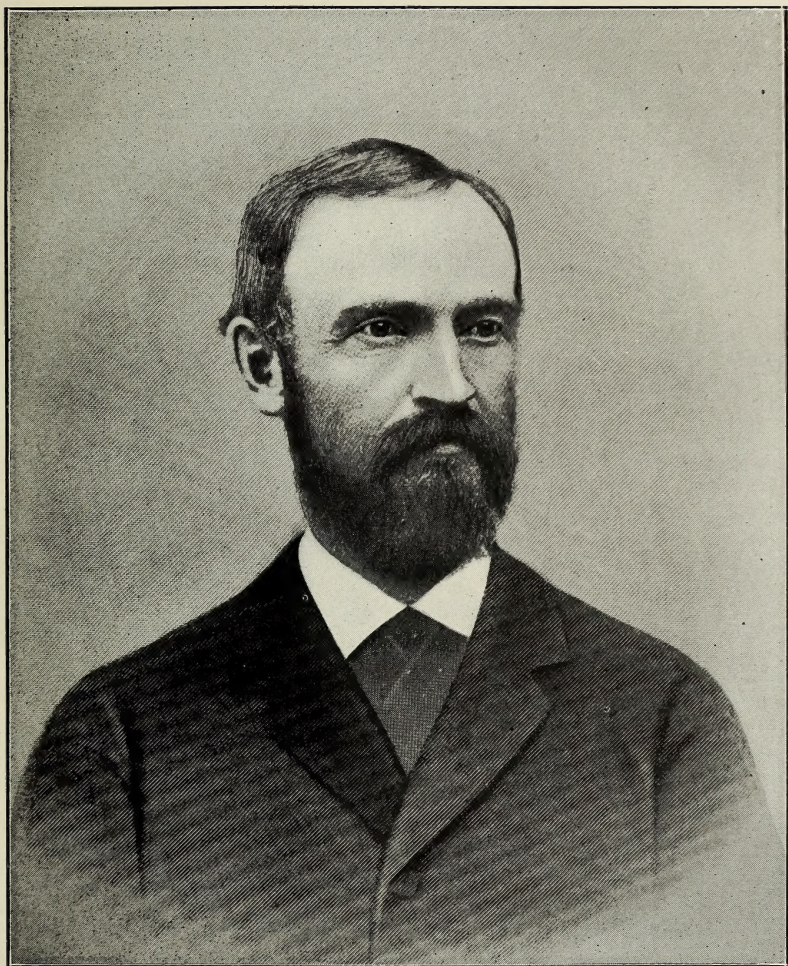
III. Wm. S. Pritchard, of Des Moines, will at once proceed to the post where any of the said companies of the Northern Border Brigade are located, and muster out said companies of said brigade, as herein directed, and will muster in the company to be raised in accordance with these orders; the company to be mustered for service until relieved by U. S. unless sooner discharged by order of the Governor.

IV. Said Pritchard will also inspect all horses, equipments, and arms, and will accept only those fitted for the proposed duty.

By order of the Governor.

N. B. BAKER, Adjt. Gen. of Iowa.

Under this General Order No. 121, and with other instructions, W. S. Pritchard and myself passed along the line of posts occupied by detachments of the brigade for the purpose of mustering them out of service, and at the same time mustering in all persons who might consent to remain and join the new company. Lieut. Lewis L. Estes, with nearly all the men in Co. C, continued in the service, with headquarters at Spirit Lake. Capt. Jerome M. White, with nearly all of his men in Co. E, also remained and became a part of the new company, he serving as second lieutenant, with headquarters at Cherokee. It was well understood at the time that the service would probably be of short duration and only to such time as Gen. Sully might be able to relieve the posts with U. S. troops. The following correspondence will show how active the department was in trying to bring this about. On November 21, 1863, General Orders No. 127 was issued, disbanding the company on January 1, 1864, unless sooner relieved by U. S. troops. This order will be found in connection with the correspondence that now follows:



CHARLES B. RUSTIN,

First Lieutenant of Company E. Enlisted from Sioux City,
Woodbury county, September 27, 1862.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BRIG. GEN. SULLY TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF DAKOTA, }
SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Oct. 22, 1863. }*Col. N. B. Baker, Adjutant General, Iowa:*

SIR:—By a late order from the Department of the Northwest, the sixteen counties in the northwest corner of Iowa are placed in my district. I have just returned from the Upper Missouri, and know very little about the points now occupied by State troops in this section, nor for how long a time they have been called into service. Will you be kind enough, therefore, to give me all the information you can in the matter.

I have many places in Dacotah to garrison this winter, but will still have left at this place some three or four companies of cavalry. I expect them here in about a week. At least two or three companies can be placed on duty at points already occupied by State troops, if necessary. But I think it would be better, if possible, to keep the State troops at these points this winter, as they are better acquainted with the country and are already located.

I will send one of my aids up there to-morrow to visit these posts, and will myself visit the line as soon as I can settle up unfinished business here.

With much respect, your obedient servant,

ALF. SULLY, Brigadier General.

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL TO GENERAL SULLY.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
DAVENPORT, October 29, 1863. }

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 22d inst., and reply that we now have in service only one company for the northern border.

With the exception of this company, the Northern Border Brigade, for the protection of the northern border, has been disbanded.

The headquarters of that company is at Estherville, and it is scattered in squads over a line of nearly 160 miles.

In my opinion one company of your cavalry would be amply sufficient to supply the place of the State company. It certainly would not require over two of your companies.

The State seriously objects to keeping State troops longer at these posts, and for good reasons. If they are not immediately relieved, every day's delay will increase the labor and difficulty of relieving the State company, as the inclement season soon sets in.

We have maintained at State expense five companies on the northern frontier, and can neither obtain credit for the men nor allowance for cash expended, while other states that have raised men for local or temporary purposes have received credit for the men, simply because they were mustered into the United States service. As far as the general government was

concerned, they received as much benefit in one case as in the other, and have had no trouble or expense (to this time, so far as this State is concerned) in the matter. We have an idea that this sort of injustice should cease, and earnestly urge on you that the State company at Estherville may at once be relieved by the cavalry under your command.

Upon notice received from you that you have given the requisite orders the governor will issue the proper orders to disband the State company at Estherville.

This is urged for another reason: We are called on for more troops, and if we can not get credit for the Northern Border Brigade, we would like to give them a chance to enlist where we can obtain credit.

With great respect, truly yours,

N. B. BAKER, A. G. of Iowa.

Brig. Gen. Sully, Commanding, &c., Sioux City, Iowa.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
DAVENPORT, November 21, 1863. }

GENERAL:—Major General Pope advises the governor, that he has no authority to order the muster in of our State troops, on the northwestern frontier, for the special duty of protecting our frontier. He doubts very much whether the War Department would accept such troops for that special service, and writes that "General Sully has sufficient force to replace your State troops whenever a military force is needed on your frontier, and he has orders to do so. The services of your State troops on the frontier, are, therefore, in my judgment, unnecessary."

Under these circumstances, I have ordered the mustering out of our company 1st of January, 1864, or sooner, if relieved by United States troops, and on being advised by you of the fact that you will relieve said troops. The mustering out officer is Capt. Wm. H. Ingham, of Estherville, Iowa. Please advise him and this office of the earliest practicable day when you can relieve the State troops. The muster out will be made certainly, and at all events on the 1st of January, 1864, and I respectfully urge immediate action on the part of the United States, and report to me and Capt. Ingham. The company is detailed along a line of 160 miles, and some time will necessarily be required in arranging details and reliefs. I deem it very important for the frontier, the protection of our citizens and the safe keeping of the block houses now erected, &c., that the United States station sufficient details at once at the several posts where the State troops are now located.

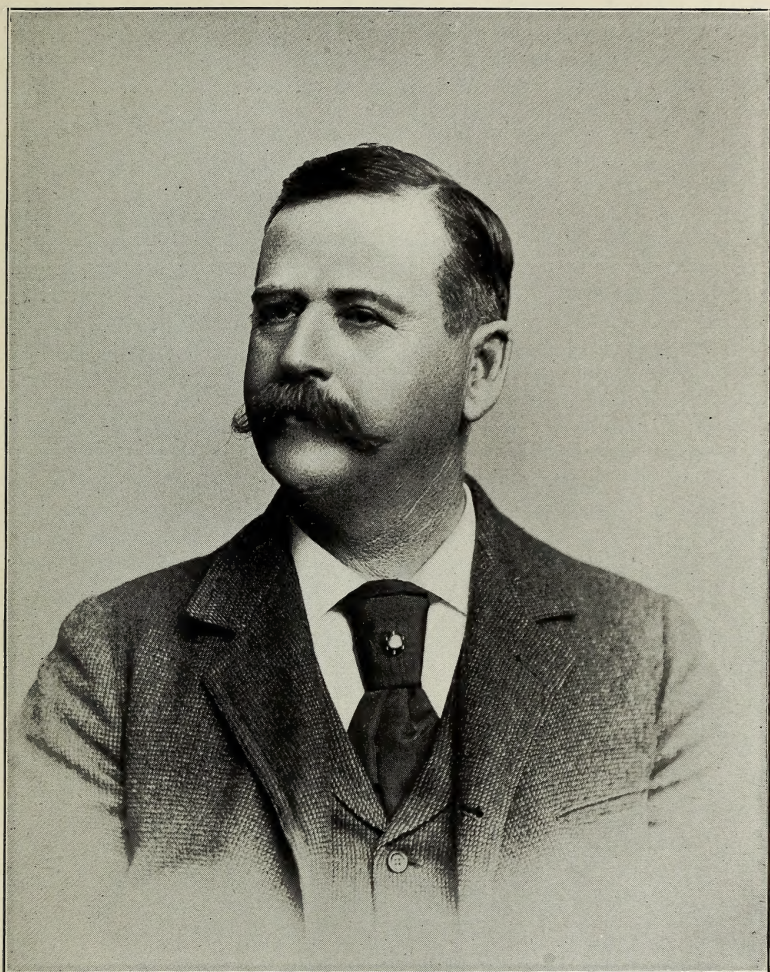
I have the honor to be, with great respect, truly yours,

N. B. BAKER, Adjutant General of Iowa.

General Alf. Sully, Brigadier General Commanding, Sioux City, Iowa.

P. S.—Please have the block houses and stables receipted for to the State by proper officer.

Your quartermaster can take forage and commissary stores, upon pro-



CHARLES ATKINS,

Second Lieutenant of Company E. Enlisted from Onawa,
Monona county, September 27, 1862.

per appraisal and on furnishing proper vouchers for payment of same by the United States. I so write to Lieut. Lewis H. Smith, Estherville, Emmet county, Iowa, even date herewith, and instruct him and Capt. Ingham to proceed at once, if possible, to Sioux City, to confer with you in person about the time of relief, &c. Perhaps, however, this may not be convenient for them and, therefore, I respectfully ask your immediately writing to them and me, and not positively relying on their going to Sioux City.

DISBANDMENT OF CAPT. INGHAM'S COMPANY.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
DAVENPORT, November 21, 1863. }

GENERAL ORDERS No. 127.

I. Captain Wm. H. Ingham's company, organized for the service of the State of Iowa on the northwestern frontier, under General Orders No. 121, will be discharged on the 1st day of January, 1864, or at an earlier date upon being relieved by U. S. troops.

II. Captain Wm. H. Ingham will proceed on the 1st day of January, 1864, or at an earlier date, upon being advised of relief by U. S. troops, to the posts where any details of said company are located and there muster out said detachment.

III. Captain Wm. H. Ingham is hereby ordered to turn over to Lieutenant Lewis H. Smith, Quartermaster of Northern Border Brigade, all arms, equipments, ammunition, commissary stores, forage and all other public property, taking his proper receipt therefor, and reporting with same, in person, to the Department, to be mustered out.

IV. Lieutenant Lewis H. Smith will hold all property subject to orders of this Department.

By order of Commander-in-Chief.

N. B. BAKER,
Adj. Gen. and A. Q. M. Gen. of Iowa.

STATE TROOPS TO BE RELIEVED.

LETTER FROM BRIGADIER GENERAL SULLY.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF DAKOTA, }
SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Nov. 26, 1863. }

Gen. N. B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa:

SIR:—I received a communication from department headquarters, dated Nov. 18, a copy of letter to the Governor, in regard to posts on northwest frontier of Iowa and State troops. The Governor in a letter to me requests I relieve them. As the matter now stands I will be obliged to do so, without I hear from you to the contrary in a few days. I dislike to relieve them with present stormy weather. Will you please give the necessary orders to your State troops to hold themselves in readiness to be relieved by troops of the Iowa 6th Cavalry.

With respect, I am your obedient servant,

ALF. SULLY, Brig. Gen.

THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL TO GENERAL SULLY.

STATE OF IOWA, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
 DAVENPORT, December 3d, 1863. }

General Alf. Sully, Sioux City, Iowa:

SIR:—Yours of the 26th ult. has been received, notifying me that you will immediately relieve our State troops. Orders were issued to State troops some days since to hold themselves in readiness to be mustered out as soon as relieved, and I shall write them that you will immediately do so with U. S. troops. I respectfully urge and shall confidently rely upon the immediate relief.

Your obedient servant,

N. B. BAKER, Adjutant-General of Iowa.

GENERAL SULLY'S REPLY TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT DAKOTA, }
 SIOUX CITY, IOWA, Dec. 22, 1863. }

To Gen. N. B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa:

SIR:—I have this day started part of the command to relieve your State troops on the northwest frontier. To-morrow I start more, and the third day the remainder. So your State troops can be discharged when you are ready.

With much regard, your obedient servant,

ALF. SULLY,

Brigadier-General Commanding District.

While the order for disbanding the company had been issued on September 21, 1863, it appears from the correspondence heretofore given that Gen. Sully was unable to furnish the men needed to occupy the posts down the line until the latter part of December. After this had been done and the detachments had been mustered out and the posts receipted for to Lt. Lewis H. Smith, I received a letter from Gen. Sully at Sioux City, stating that a squad of cavalry from his command would report at Estherville on the morning of Dec. 30 to relieve the state troops and take possession of the post. The members of the company were soon called together and notified to be fully prepared for the coming event. At about ten o'clock the next morning the troops made their appearance and lined up outside of the gates. Quite soon after the state troops with all their effects passed out and left the works to be taken in charge by U. S. troops. And so ended the services of the last members of the Northern Border Brigade.

It may be well to recall here the service rendered at an important time, by the company enlisted at Algona on August 27, 1862, and also by the one organized at Estherville at about the same time by Howard Graves. These two companies, without ever an alignment or roll call during their brief paper existence of only a few days, did much to quiet the excitement over the massacre in Minnesota and in holding the settlements until the company enlisted by authority of Governor Kirkwood was fully organized and took the field.

As to the services of the Northern Border Brigade the results show that it served an excellent purpose in preserving the settlements of the northwestern border and thereby prevented much suffering and an immense loss of property to the citizens of the State. From the reports heretofore given, it will be seen that the brigade promptly met and carried out all of the objects set forth in Governor Kirkwood's General Orders No. 1. By a wise distribution of its forces at frequent stations on the frontier, and under the able management of Col. Sawyers, the brigade undoubtedly did much in preventing the Indians from invading the State. The companies comprising the brigade constructed works at the different posts well suited for the purposes for which they were made, as shown by Col. Sawyers' final reports. These works together with the presence of the troops gave a genuine feeling of security not only to the settlers nearby but to all others that were in any way concerned, so that many who had left their homes during the excitement soon afterward returned.

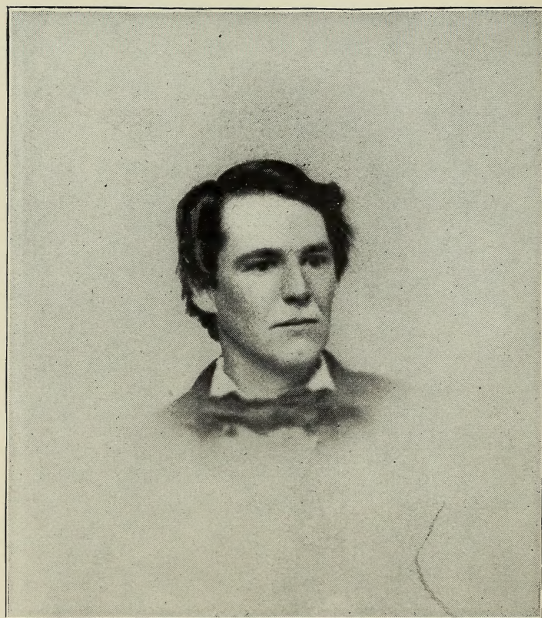
The brigade was made up of strong, earnest, loyal men, well fitted by pioneer experiences to meet any emergency that might occur, and its survivors may well take pride in having been members and of helping to render the last service ever required by the State for the protection of its northern border from Indian invasion. The frontier about which so much was said forty years ago has long since disappeared from the State, and the word, so often heard then,

is rarely spoken now, and only those who have lived its life can ever know the full import of its meaning.

In the preparation of the foregoing sketch many pleasing memories of the brigade have been recalled, and especially of the members of Co. A, whom I hold in grateful remembrance for kindly assistance and faithful work, with the best wishes for each and all.

The rosters of the field and staff, and of the several companies, will be found in the following pages.

ALGONA, IOWA, June 23, 1902.



EDWARD M'KNIGHT,

First Lieutenant of Company A. Enlisted from Dakota City,
Humboldt county, September 7, 1862.

NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE.

ROSTER OF FIELD AND STAFF.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
James A. Sawyers	33	Sioux City, Woodbury.....	Tennessee	Lieut.-Colonel..	.....	.....
Lewis H. Smith	26	Algona, Kossuth.....	New York	Quartermaster .	.....	Sept. 7, 1862
NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY A.						
Wm. H. Ingham	34	Kossuth Centre, Kossuth.....	New York	Captain	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Edward McKnight ..	25	Dakota City, Humboldt ..	Pennsylvania ..	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Jesse Coverdale	30	Estherville, Emmet	New York	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Haven S. Watson	32	Algona, Kossuth.....	New York	1st Sergeant ..	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Addison Fisher	41	Irvington, Kossuth.....	.....	1st Sergeant ..	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 19, 1862
J. R. Armstrong	33	Irvington, Kossuth.....	New York	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
R. Fayette Carter	31	Paoli, Palo Alto	Ohio	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 26, 1862
Amos A. Pingrey	31	Estherville, Emmet	New York	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
R. Fayette Carter ..	31	Paoli, Palo Alto	Ohio	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 23, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb ..	25	Estherville, Emmet	Vermont	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 26, 1862
R. Fayette Carter ..	31	Paoli, Palo Alto	Ohio	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 27, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb..	25	Estherville, Emmet	Vermont	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 23, 1862
Auguste Zahnten	45	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 20, 1862
Addison Fisher	41	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Massachusetts..	1st Corporal ..	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb..	25	Estherville, Emmet	Vermont	1st Corporal ..	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 19, 1862
Auguste Zahnten	45	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	1st Corporal ..	Sept. 7, 1862...	Oct. 23, 1862
Wm. Crook	25	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Canada	1st Corporal ..	Sept. 3, 1862...	Oct. 26, 1862
Morgan Jenkins	18	Estherville, Emmet	New York	2d Corporal....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Auguste Zahnten	45	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	2d Corporal....	Sept. 3, 1862...	Oct. 19, 1862
Wm. Crook	25	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Canada	2d Corporal....	Sept. 3, 1862...	Oct. 23, 1862
Otto Schadt	36	Estherville, Emmet	Germany	2d Corporal....	Sept. 5, 1862...	Oct. 26, 1862
Elbridge Whitcomb ..	25	Estherville, Emmet	Vermont	3d Corporal....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Wm. Crook	25	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Canada	3d Corporal....	Sept. 3, 1862...	Oct. 19, 1862
Otto Schadt	36	Estherville, Emmet	Germany	3d Corporal....	Sept. 5, 1862...	Oct. 23, 1862

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
Thomas Mahar.....	35	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ireland	3d Corporal.....	Sept. 6, 1862...	Oct. 26, 1862
Auguste Zahltzen	45	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	4th Corporal.....	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Otto Schadt.....	36	Estherville, Emmet.....	Germany	4th Corporal.....	Sept. 5, 1862...	Oct. 19, 1862
Thomas Mahar.....	35	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ireland	4th Corporal.....	Sept. 6, 1862...	Oct. 23, 1862
Dennis Hogan.....	28	Dakota City, Humboldt.....	Ireland	4th Corporal.....	Oct. 21, 1862...	Oct. 26, 1862
Christian Hackman.....	40	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	Bugler	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Ruel Fisher.....	46	Estherville, Emmet.....	New Hampshire	Farrier	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Robert E. Ridley.....	28	Estherville, Emmet.....	Maine	Wagoner	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Altwegg, Jacob.....	26	Kossuth Centre, Kossuth.....	Switzerland.....	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Archer, Henry.....	19	Dakota City, Humboldt.....	England	Private	Oct. 21, 1862...	Oct. 2, 1862
Brown, John M.....	23	Algona, Kossuth.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Baker, Peter S.....	29	Estherville, Emmet.....	New York	Private	Sept. 5, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Barrett, Hiram.....	26	Estherville, Emmet.....	New York	Private	Sept. 20, 1862...	Sept. 20, 1862
Crook, William.....	25	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Canada	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Crowley, Jeremiah	18	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 4, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Camfield, Ira	32	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ohio	Private	Sept. 5, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Clark, Thomas J.....	19	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Indiana	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Clark, John H.....	18	Estherville, Emmet.....	Pennsylvania	Private	Sept. 22, 1862...	Sept. 22, 1862
Green, J. G.....	35	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Pennsylvania	Private	Sept. 14, 1862...	Sept. 14, 1862
Gilbert, Hogen.....	23	Estherville, Emmet.....	Norway	Private	Sept. 9, 1862...	Oct. 9, 1862
Hegarty, John.....	24	Algona, Kossuth.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 3, 1862
Hogan, Dennis.....	28	Dakota City, Humboldt.....	Ireland	Private	Oct. 21, 1865...	Oct. 21, 1862
Jackman, Patrick	22	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 4, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Jones, Andrew J.....	21	Algona, Kossuth.....	Maryland	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Jarvis, C. Willis.....	18	Estherville, Emmet.....	Connecticut	Private	Sept. 29, 1862...	Sept. 29, 1862
Laughlin, Lott.....	23	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 4, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Mulroney, Keiran	19	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 4, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Mulroney, Joseph T.....	26	Emmetsburg, Palo Alto.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 7, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Mahar, Thomas	25	Estherville, Emmet.....	Ireland	Private	Sept. 6, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862
Patterson, Henry.....	22	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Vermont.....	Private	Sept. 3, 1862...	Sept. 7, 1862

Palmer, George	18	Estherville, Emmet.....	Pennsylvania ..	Private.....	Sept. 6, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Phillips, Judah	30	Estherville, Emmet.....	New York	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Robison, Thomas	38	Irvington, Kossuth.....	Illinois	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Ridley, Eugene G.....	18	Estherville, Emmet.....	Maine	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Schaad, George F.....	37	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Summers, John W.....	30	Algona, Kossuth.....	Kentucky.....	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Smith, Michael.....	28	Algona, Kossuth.....	Germany	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Schadt, Otto	36	Estherville, Emmet.....	Germany	Private.....	Sept. 5, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862
Trimble, Hugh.....	40	Highland City, Pocahontas..	Ohio	Private.....	Oct. 8, 1862..	Oct. 8, 1862
Young, James.....	23	Algona, Kossuth.....	England	Private.....	Sept. 3, 1862..	Sept. 7, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 6, Corporals 4, Teamster 0, Musician 1, Farrier 1, Saddler 0, Wagoner 1, Privates 32; Total rank and file 64.

NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY B.

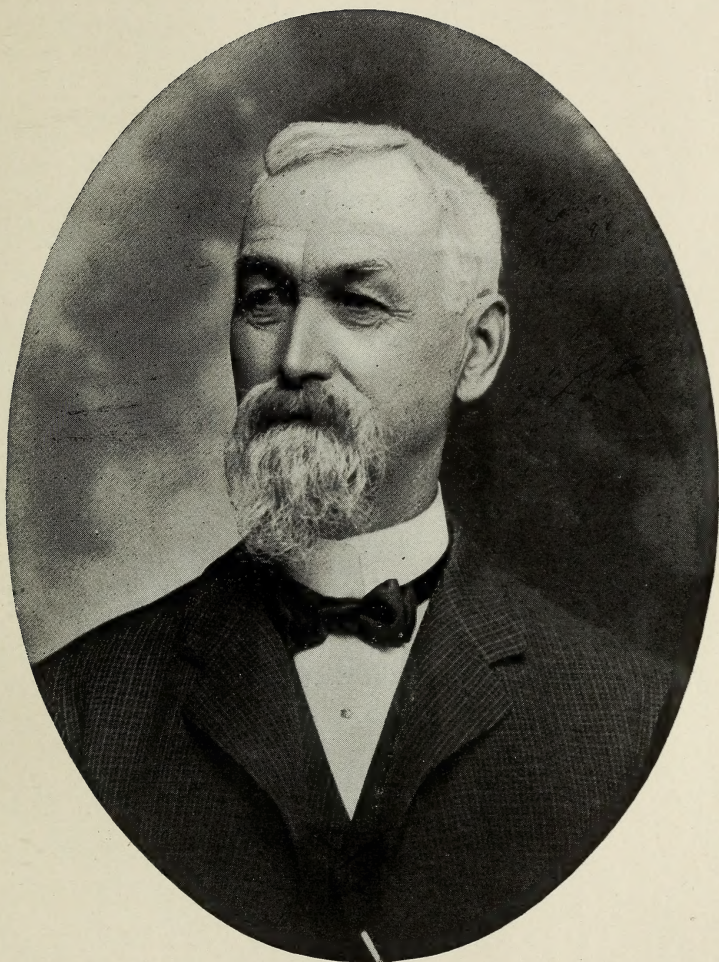
Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
William Williams.....	64	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	Captain.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
John M. Hefley.....	35	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Jasper N. Bell.....	22	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Iowa.....	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James S. Jenkins.....	20	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	1st Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James A. Humphreys..	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Connecticut.....	Q. M. S.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	.....
B. F. Denelon.....	35	Ellington, Hancock.....	Indiana.....	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James P. White.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Maine.....	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
George Keffner.....	29	Border Plains, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Edward Krouse.....	33	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina..	1st Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Jesse Bass.....	44	Mineral Ridge, Boone.....	North Carolina..	2d Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Daniel Morresey.....	26	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	3d Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Matthew Landreth.....	22	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Indiana.....	4th Corporal....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James Bass.....	32	West Dayton, Webster.....	North Carolina..	Bugler.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Andrew K. Jenkins.....	24	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	Farrier.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
J. M. Holt.....	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	Farrier.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Jacob Crouse.....	36	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina..	Farrier.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
James A. Humphreys..	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Connecticut.....	Wagoner.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Allen, Samuel F.....	31	West Dayton, Webster.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Blaine, Wm. H.....	23	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Pennsylvania.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Bass, James.....	32	West Dayton, Webster.....	North Carolina..	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Booker, Leander.....	28	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Tennessee.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Beem, Wickliffe C.....	22	Border Plains, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Buck, William.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Crouse, Irwin.....	24	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina..	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Crouse, Jacob.....	36	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	North Carolina..	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Coleman, Timothy.....	21	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Conlee, Smith T.....	18	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Eslick, John D.....	19	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Flaherty, James.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Maryland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 25, 1862

Fitch, Edward	21	Homer, Hamilton.....	Pennsylvania...	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Harper, John	32	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Scotland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Hubbard, John N.....	35	West Dayton, Webster.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Hoisington, Jesse.....	38	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Kaylor, Thomas J.....	25	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Landreth, Zachariah..	21	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Landreth, Wm. R.....	23	Homer, Hamilton.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Landreth, Thomas....	43	Homer, Hamilton.....	Virginia.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Long, Eli.....	21	Homer, Hamilton.....	Kentucky.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Lowe, Emanuel E.....	22	West Dayton, Webster.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
McGuire, Blythe.....	27	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
McDonough, Martin..	24	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
McCosker, Charles....	42	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Nicholson, Alfred J...	20	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Ireland.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Payne, Jonathan W...	27	West Dayton, Webster.....	Tennessee.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Pierce, Francis M.....	19	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Phipps, Luther.....	18	Webster City, Hamilton....	Massachusetts..	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	.....
Powers, Walter.....	20	Fort Dodge, Webster.....	Maine.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Richey, Gasper A....	20	West Dayton, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Starr, Peter.....	42	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Sweden.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Wright, Wm.....	22	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Wright, Nathan.....	20	Homer, Hamilton.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862
Weeks, Arthur	18	West Point, Webster.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 24, 1862..	Sept. 24, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musician 1, Farrier 1, Wagoner 1, Privates 35; Total rank and file 52 men.

NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY C.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
Harvey W. Crapper...	36	Webster City, Hamilton...	Indiana	Captain.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Lewis L. Estes	29	Webster City, Hamilton	New York	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Samuel M. Purcell...	28	Alden, Hardin.....	Indiana	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Franklin Richardson..	27	Mineral Ridge, Boone	North Carolina.	1st Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Nath'l W. Browning...	31	Webster City, Hamilton	Maine	2d Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Andrew S. Leonard...	26	Webster City, Hamilton	Massachusetts..	3d Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Wm. H. Adams	32	Webster City, Hamilton	New York	4th Sergeant....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Joseph Landon	40	Boonsboro, Boone.....	Pennsylvania..	1st Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Humphrey C. Hillock.	24	Webster City, Hamilton	Michigan	2d Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
David W. Carver....	28	Webster City, Hamilton	Ohio	3d Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Andrew S. Bonner...	21	Lakin's Grove, Hamilton	Ohio	4th Corporal....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
William W. Collins...	17	Webster City, Hamilton	Illinois	Bugler.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Thomas Striker.....	33	Webster City, Hamilton	Ohio	Farrier.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Luther Bullis	43	Webster City, Hamilton	Vermont	Wagoner.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Bigelow, Orra L.....	38	Alden, Hardin.....	Massachusetts..	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Button, Joshua.....	21	Alden, Hardin.....	New York	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Brassfield, George B..	27	Goldfield, Wright.....	Missouri.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Bloomfield, Charles...	43	Homer, Hamilton.....	England.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Cooper, George.....	20	Webster City, Hamilton	Ohio	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Davis, Abner F.....	27	Webster City, Hamilton	Michigan	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Guilliams, Samuel N..	21	Otterville, Franklin	Indiana	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Griffith, William H..	37	Goldfield, Wright.....	New York	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Guilliams, John.....	28	Alden, Hardin.....	Indiana	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Hull, Nelson S.....	35	Webster City, Hamilton	New York	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Handly, Isaac.....	40	Webster City, Hamilton	Virginia	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Hill, James I.....	20	Webster City, Hamilton	Virginia	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Kinney, Clark E.....	19	Alden, Hardin.....	New York	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Kimmel, Noah W....	24	Webster City, Hamilton	Ohio	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Lyon, Jothan N.....	25	Webster City, Hamilton	Indiana	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862



LEWIS L. ESTES,

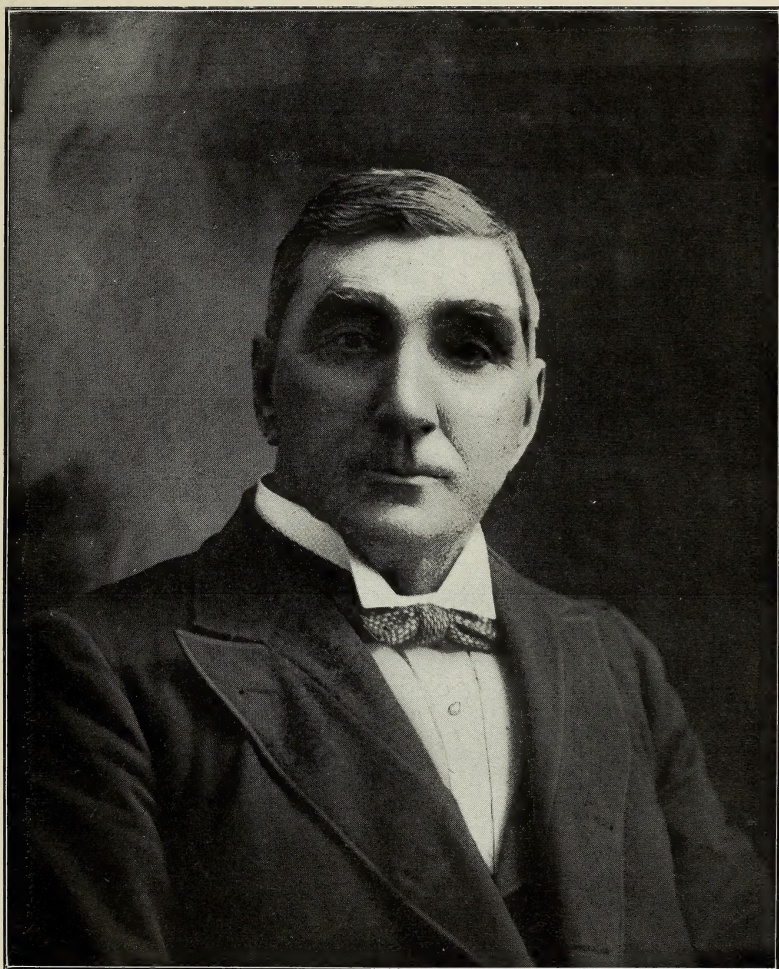
First Lieutenant of Company C. Enlisted from Webster City,
Hamilton county, September 26, 1862.

Lucas, Henry M.....	22	Boonsboro, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Letts, Jeremiah S.....	32	Webster City, Hamilton	Canada.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Neese, Martin.....	22	Homer, Hamilton.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Nickerson, Francis M.	23	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Nott, Leroy J.....	22	Cottage, Hardin.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Osborn, Franklin	20	Otisville, Franklin	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Oliver, Robert C.....	21	Belmond, Wright.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Osborn, Lewis	25	Alden, Hardin.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Purcell, Andrew L.....	23	Alden, Hardin.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Payne, Samuel S.....	20	Boonsboro, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Richardson, Columbus	18	Ridgeport, Boone.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Royster, William V....	28	Homer, Hamilton.....	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Stinson, Calvary.....	21	Webster City, Hamilton	Illinois.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Sketchley, James R....	26	Webster City, Hamilton	Virginia.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Schlegelmitch, F.....	23	Alden, Hardin.....	Germany.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Striker, John.....	22	Back Grove, Wright.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Striker, John D.....	19	Webster City, Hamilton	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Stearns, Levi D.....	31	Webster City, Hamilton	Maine.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Sells, Leonard.....	22	Back Grove, Wright.....	Indiana.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Taylor, George.....	19	Iowa Falls, Hardin.....	New York.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Usher, Alexander.....	27	Goldfield, Wright.....	Ohio.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862
Wilson, Wm.....	21	Mineral Ridge, Boone.....	England.....	Private.....	Sept. 26, 1862..	Sept. 26, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Teamsters 0, Farriers 1, Wagoner 1, Privates 37; Total rank and file 51 men.

NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY D.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
James M. Butler	37	Denison, Crawford	Kentucky	Captain	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Henry C. Laub	37	Denison, Crawford	Pennsylvania	1st Lieutenant	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
John L. Grossman	35	Little Sioux, Harrison	New Jersey	2d Lieutenant	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Francis Reynolds	30	Manteno, Shelby	Indiana	1st Sergeant	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Wm. J. Wagoner	27	Grant City, Sac	Ohio	2d Sergeant	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
James H. Foster	34	Paradise, Crawford	New York	3d Sergeant	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Henry B. Lyman	30	Olmsted, Harrison	Connecticut	4th Sergeant	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Matthew M. Connyer	23	Little Sioux, Crawford	Iowa	1st Corporal	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Robert Bell	25	Paradise, Crawford	Scotland	2d Corporal	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Charles S. Brown	21	Woodbine, Harrison	New York	3d Corporal	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Oliver O. McHenry	20	Magnolia, Harrison	Missouri	4th Corporal	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Charles Wilson	25	Manteno, Shelby	North Carolina	Bugler	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
George Montague	34	Manteno, Shelby	New York	Farrier	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Alexander Perkins	33	Denison, Crawford	Pennsylvania	Wagoner	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Andrews, Marion	31	Manteno, Shelby	Tennessee	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Brown, Junius	23	Denison, Crawford	New York	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Browning, George F.	30	Sac City, Sac	Kentucky	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Bell, Sandlades	20	Paradise, Crawford	Scotland	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Crandall, David C.	26	Manteno, Shelby	Missouri	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Crandall, Lyman	22	Manteno, Shelby	Illinois	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Condron, Nathan W.	28	Grant City, Sac	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Crandall, George	19	Manteno, Shelby	Illinois	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Condit, Parker S.	19	Little Sioux, Harrison	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Connyers, John J.	18	Little Sioux, Harrison	Iowa	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Connyers, George W.	22	Little Sioux, Harrison	Iowa	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Flowers, Willis A.	21	Little Sioux, Harrison	Illinois	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Gressmen, Sidney M.	20	Manteno, Shelby	Iowa	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Gable, Uriah M.	21	Denison, Crawford	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Hawley, Gideon	20	Manteno, Shelby	Iowa	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862



HENRY C. LAUB,

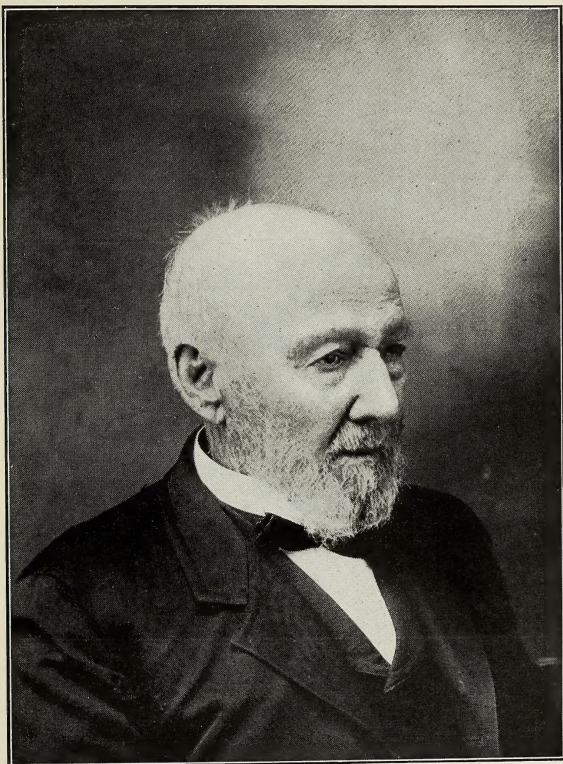
First Lieutenant of Company D. Enlisted from Denison.
Crawford county, October 3, 1862.

Imlay, Solomon J	27	Magnolia, Harrison	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Jackson, Alfred	21	Manteno, Shelby	Iowa	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Johnson, Henry	20	Little Sioux, Harrison	England	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1863
Keut, Sylvester B. . . .	24	Denison, Crawford	Iowa	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Kuykendall, John C. . .	25	Manteno, Shelby	Tennessee	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Kuykendall, A. R. . . .	20	Denison, Crawford	Texas	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Kime, Jacob G.	29	Manteno, Shelby	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Livingston, Wm. G. . . .	18	Little Sioux, Harrison	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Lewis, Squire T.	22	Magnolia, Harrison	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Landon, Chris. C. . . .	18	Little Sioux, Harrison	Pennsylvania . . .	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
McCord, Wm.	20	Manteno, Shelby	Illinois	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Myers, Henry G.	35	Olmstead, Harrison	New York	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Munson, Jacob H. . . .	37	Davidson, Crawford	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Quail, Robert	39	Sac City, Sac	Pennsylvania . . .	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Riddle, Michael	30	Denison, Crawford	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Rudd, Sidney R.	27	Denison, Crawford	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Stow, Elias M.	23	Denison, Crawford	Pennsylvania . . .	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1863
Slater, Solomon W. . . .	24	Little Sioux, Harrison	Ohio	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Teague, Ephraim C. . .	22	Denison, Crawford	New York	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Teague, George N. . . .	20	Bournan's Grove, Shelby	Indiana	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
Whitney, John M. . . .	24	Pleasant Grove, Shelby	Indiana	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862
		Grant City, Sac	New York	Private	Oct. 3, 1862	Oct. 3, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musician 1, Farrier 1, Wagoner 1, Privates 37; Total rank and file 51.

NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE—ROSTER OF COMPANY E.

Names	Age	Residence—Town and County	Nativity	Rank	Enlistment or Enrollment	Date of Muster into State Service
Jerome M. White.	39	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Ohio.	Captain.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Charles B. Rustin.	26	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Vermont.	1st Lieutenant..	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Charles Atkins.	30	Onawa, Monona.	Maine.	2d Lieutenant..	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Anthony B. Griffin.	31	Sioux City, Woodbury.	New York.	1st Sergeant.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
John W. Lewis.	33	Sioux City, Woodbury.	N. B.	2d Sergeant.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Joseph Robinson.	28	Onawa, Monona.	Scotland.	3d Sergeant.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Gilbert Kustin.	29	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Vermont.	4th Sergeant.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Andrew S. Miller.	26	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Pennsylvania.	1st Corporal.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
John Gerts.	35	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Germany.	2d Corporal.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Eli Avery.	50	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Pennsylvania.	3d Corporal.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Warren G. Ordway.	19	Onawa, Monona.	New York.	4th Corporal.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Christian F. Doss.	27	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Germany.	Bugler.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Albion Beaty.	29	Onawa, Monona.	Illinois.	Farrier.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
John A. Swobe.	24	Sioux City, Woodbury.	New York.	Wagoner.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Allison, David.	18	West Fork, Monona.	Pennsylvania.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Ackerman, David.	33	Sioux City, Woodbury.	New York.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Brassfield, John D.	21	Woodbury, Woodbury.	Indiana.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Beck, Henry R.	22	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Pennsylvania.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Baierlien, Michael.	29	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Germany.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Bush, Jacob B.	18	West Fork, Monona.	Indiana.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Commerford, Matthew	37	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Ireland.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Carr, Wm. M.	20	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Indiana.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Carstens, Aldridge G.	32	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Germany.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Cheadle, Vincent.	40	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Ohio.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Denison, Vincent.	40	Onawa, Monona.	Ireland.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Elliott, Robert.	29	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Ireland.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Elliott, William.	25	Woodbury, Woodbury.	Ireland.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Geiger, John.	38	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Germany.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862
Goldie, Robert.	32	Sioux City, Woodbury.	Scotland.	Private.	Sept. 27, 1862..	Oct. 7, 1862



JEROME M. WHITE,
Captain of Company E. Enlisted from Sioux City,
Woodbury county, September 27, 1862.

Hopkins, Thomas T.	22	Kennebeck, Monona	Ocean	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Householder, Mat. C.	34	Woodbury, Woodbury	Ohio	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Jameson, Robert	39	Onawa, Monona	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Jarvis, Utrick	30	Sioux City, Woodbury	Canada	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Kelly, Cornelius	18	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Kelly, Cornelius J.	18	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Kelly, Daniel	28	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Lakey, Andrew	27	Sioux City, Woodbury	Ireland	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Leteltier, Lewis D.	35	Sioux City, Woodbury	Canada	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Lee, James W.	32	Mapleton, Monona	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Milroy, William B.	25	Woodbury, Woodbury	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
McCurdy, Francis M.	18	Sioux City, Woodbury	Pennsylvania	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
McCurdy, Wm. S.	44	Sioux City, Woodbury	Pennsylvania	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Pinkney, John M.	22	Sioux City, Woodbury	Michigan	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Perry, Francis M.	28	Onawa, Monona	Indiana	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Putnam, Nathan W.	32	Sioux City, Woodbury	New York	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Pinkney, Wm. H.	19	Sioux City, Woodbury	Michigan	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Snider, Wm. W.	20	Woodbury, Woodbury	Ohio	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Washburn, Ellis	18	Sioux City, Woodbury	New York	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Warren, Theodore	21	Mapleton, Monona	Illinois	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
Winteringer, David L.	21	Smithland, Woodbury	Ohio	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862
York, Mathias	38	Sioux City, Woodbury	Germany	Private	Sept. 27, 1862	Oct. 7, 1862

Commissioned Officers 3, Sergeants 4, Corporals 4, Musician 1, Farrier 1, Saddler 0, Wagoner 1, Privates 37; Total rank and file, 51 men.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN IOWA TERRITORY.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, IOWA TERRY., 2d August, 1841.

SIR:—Your letters of 13th and 14th ults. came to hand on the 31st, that of the 16th by the preceding mail. I am pleased to find that my views on the subject of our Indian affairs in the Superintendency coincide with yours and the more so, because yours are the result of much observation and experience.

It will give me pleasure, if as you anticipate, my labors here should in any degree tend to lighten yours, or aid you in the performance of them. Your remarks on the subject of the influence of the traders over the Indians, are fully sustained by my own observations and increasing experience, and I am well convinced that whenever the time arrives for holding a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes we shall have great difficulty if we are not to a great extent defeated in the attainment of our principal object, by their management; and if it so turns out, and I have anything to do with the matter, I shall most certainly adopt summary measures to remove their influence from the Indian Territory pending the treaty. I believe, however, they will be cautious how they subject themselves to suspicion, as I have in several friendly conversations with them, assured them that whenever I became convinced that the influence of traders in any part of the Indian country under my superintendence is counteracting or impeding the views of the government, I will convince them that the government is too strong for them—assuring them at the same time that I entertain no unkind feelings towards any of them and would very reluctantly do anything that could affect their interests injuriously. They profess the utmost willingness to act in concert with the views of the government, and will do so, *just so far* as those views do not conflict with their interests. Before this reaches you, you will have learned from my letter of the 27th ultimo, that a compromise between the two parties of Sacs and Foxes as to

the manner of receiving their annuities has been effected, and I have now no uneasiness on that subject, except from the fear of a delay in the payment, which will be incompatible with the repeated assurance given them ever since the suspension of the last year's payment, that the money would be paid whenever they would agree upon the manner of receiving it. You are perfectly aware of the promptitude with which they impute falsehood to those who fail to comply with any promise made them, and that it is almost impossible to regain their confidence if once lost.

I have written to Capt. Bruce and Gov. Doty on the subject of your letter of the 13th ult., and have given to the former an explanation of the object for which the \$5,000 that he was at a loss about, was remitted. I infer from your letter that Gov. Doty is at St. Peters, but have not had the honor to hear from him since his return to the west. In my letter to Mr. Bruce I gave him in substance this view of the subject of educating the Indians—That every effort to educate Indians who remain in a migratory or hunter state, or who are dependent for subsistence upon occasional supplies from the government, is money wasted and labor lost. That I have not yet in all my inquiries been able to find an instance of permanent good, either to individuals or tribes, from any degree of education conferred upon them while in the state described. Among the Sacs and Foxes there is a half-breed who has been well educated—speaks our language and the French with fluency and ease, and is perfectly familiar with the language of several of the tribes, yet he is the most worthless, lying, drunken dog among them, and they sometimes whip him severely for lying. Another half-breed among them has received some education, but makes no use of it, and is a mere Indian in his habits and feelings. Such was the case, too, with a few of the Shawnees when they lived on the Miamies of the lake. I remember one in particular who was a graduate of one of the eastern colleges, who used to say his education had only served to spoil a

good hunter, and in truth he was not good for anything. The Cherokees and other southern Indians who have given some attention to educating their children, did not commence to do so until many of them had acquired some ideas of individual rights and the value of individual property in lands, and had made considerable progress in agriculture. This view of the subject leads me to the conclusion that until these people are permanently located and such neat and comfortable residences erected for them as will soon come to be preferred to the miserable camps in which they usually reside, nothing beneficial can be done for them in the way of education. This effected, hold out inducements to them to cultivate the soil—offer prizes, such for instance as handsome guns with all their equipments, fine clothes, blankets, &c., to the Indian who shall produce, by *male labor*, the best crop of corn, raise the most hogs or cattle, reducing the scale of prizes, but giving something to each male Indian who shall labor to make a crop. These prizes might be exhibited at the agencies by way of stimulating them to exertion. Having taught them the comforts of a home and the value of the products of the soil as a means of subsistence, then, and not till then, will education become valuable to them. These views were given for Mr. Bruce's consideration, and I submit them to you now with the same object, admitting that my inexperience in Indian affairs entitled my opinions to no other consideration than the reasons given for them may entitle them to. You will observe, however, that they go to the root of all attempts at conferring education until the Indians are induced to become to some extent settled and have commenced to depend, in part at least, upon their industry for support; but for this view of the matter I would have mailed Mr. Bruce's and Gov. Doty's opinions before I presented mine. On the subject of the Soap Creek mills near the Sac and Fox agency, I concur in your opinion that any further expenditure for the purpose of putting the saw-mill in operation would be useless under existing circumstances,

but with regard to the corn-mill, I regret that any delay should take place in the execution of the very inconsiderable amount of labor necessary to secure it against a sudden rise of the water, because if the Indians were removed, the value of the mill to the white population which will soon occupy the country forms a sufficient inducement to secure it at so small an expense, and I presume that whenever the Indians are removed measures will be adopted to secure the government at least a portion of the money expended at and near the agency, by a sale of the lands enclosed and reduced to cultivation, buildings, &c., in such manner as will insure a fair competition at the sale of them.

I remain very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN CHAMBERS.

T. HARTLEY CRAWFORD, ESQ., Commr. of Ind. Affairs,
Department of War, Washington City.

P. S.—I enclose you a slip from a dirty paper published [here], to show what use is attempted to be made of the matter to which it relates.

NULLIFICATION.—The dog law and the law to prevent the discharging of fire arms in the limits of the corporation remain unexecuted. In 1840 a law passed the city council levying a tax of one dollar on each dog, or making it the duty of the marshal to destroy every dog not so paid for. One dog was paid for that year and the rest went stock free. This year again, we know of but one who has paid a dog tax, and hear of but two dogs being destroyed. What a glorious thing it is to have a corporation.—*Davenport, Iowa, Sun, Aug. 6, 1842.*

IOWA'S FIRST LAWGIVER.

Eugene F. Ware, of Topeka, Kansas, sends *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* some interesting facts concerning the early history of Iowa which are printed below. In a letter to the editor Mr. Ware says that having been directed by the governor of Kansas to assist the attorney general in the United States supreme court in the suit of Kansas against Colorado for the diversion of the water from the Arkansas river, which flows from Colorado into Kansas, it became necessary to dig down into the early laws of Kansas, and as it belonged to the Louisiana purchase, he found many interesting facts. Those of particular interest to the people of this State he has used in preparing the article which follows. Mr. Ware was formerly with *The Burlington Hawk-Eye*, and since removing to Topeka has gained much note as a lawyer, writer and poet. In the latter capacity he is best known as "Ironquill." Mr. Ware writes to *The Hawk-Eye* as follows:

TOPEKA, KANSAS, Feb. 1, 1902.

DEAR SIR:—It may be interesting to know that William Henry Harrison was the first American lawgiver of Iowa. After the adoption of the constitution of the United States and after the creation of the Northwest territory by ordinance of July 13, 1787, a law was enacted by congress, creating the territory of Indiana. The law was approved May 7, 1800, and all of the territory west of Ohio to the Mississippi river was called "Indiana territory."

The legislative authority of Indiana was confined to a governor and three judges, all appointed.

The act provided for a legislature to be elected when there were "five thousand free male inhabitants" of voting age. (Nothing said about their being "white.")

The power of the governor and three judges to legislate was taken from the ordinance of 1787, and is as follows:

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, . . . which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by congress. (1 S. L. 51.)

Owing to the fact that the voting population of Indiana territory remaining below the required number, its legislature for several years from the organization of the territory

consisted of the governor, William Henry Harrison, afterwards president, and the three judges appointed to hold the courts in the territory. The seat of government was fixed by law at the village of Saint Vincennes, called by the English-speaking people Saint Vincent, under which name it was mentioned in the ordinance of 1787. The place was widely known by its English name, but the old French name, Vincennes, persisted and was finally adopted.

The first law passed by Indiana territory for its government was passed January 19, 1801.

It was signed by William Henry Harrison as governor, and by William Clark, Henry Vanderburgh and John Griffin as judges. It was a law requiring lists of persons and property in the territory, and was adopted from the code of Pennsylvania. It was done at the town of "Saint Vincennes." The Indiana lawgivers also passed "a law establishing courts of judicature" at the same place, Vincennes, January 23, 1801. This law was also adopted from the Pennsylvania code. The governor and judges also passed laws concerning practice on appeals, which laws were taken from Kentucky and Virginia. These laws, though few and simple, were perhaps all that were necessary for the then sparsely settled country of Indiana territory.

The laws which Indiana territory adopted for its own use and guidance came from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky.

After the purchase of Louisiana territory, in 1803, and the taking possession of the same, the congress of the United States passed a law, March 26, 1804 (2 S. L. 283), subdividing said territory upon the thirty-third degree of north latitude, running from the Mississippi river west, being the present southern boundary of Arkansas. The southern part of the said territory was called the Territory of Orleans, and that portion north of the line was called the District of Louisiana. This act separating the two parts of Louisiana territory contained the provision that the governor and judges of

Indiana territory might legislate for the new district, being the upper district (Secs. 12 and 13), and the act also contained the following:

SEC. 13. The laws in force in the said district of Louisiana at the commencement of this act, and not inconsistent with any of the provisions thereof, shall continue in force until altered, modified or repealed by the governor and judges of the Indiana territory as aforesaid.

By virtue of the provisions of the act of March 26, 1804, it became necessary that the governor and judges of Indiana territory should legislate for the district of Louisiana.

In order to prevent confusion, it must be remembered that the northern part of the Louisiana purchase, so separated as stated, was first called the "District of Louisiana;" then the same territory was afterwards renamed the "Territory of Louisiana," and afterwards renamed the "Territory of Missouri;" so the same geographical boundaries in fact pertained to the three political divisions. As the said act of congress gave to Indiana territory the power to legislate for the district of Louisiana, the governor and judges of Indiana proceeded to enact such laws as they deemed necessary.

Although more than four years elapsed since the organization of the territory of Indiana, no legislature had yet been elected, and the territory was still governed by Mr. Harrison and three judges, and they had passed laws amounting in volume to about fifty pages; and when congress, in 1804, gave them the right to legislate for the district of Louisiana, the governor and judges of Indiana took most of the laws which they had adopted during the four years and, making only such changes as would necessarily fit them for the new territory, readopted them practically verbatim for the district of Louisiana. The laws were not passed separately and in detail, but were all passed at once in a body, as of the date of October 1, 1804, except one, a supplemental law regarding marriages, which passed April 24, 1805.

The formula by which these laws were passed was as follows, and we give a sample as representing all:

A law establishing the office of sheriff.

Be it enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Indiana Territory, authorized and empowered by an Act of Congress to make laws for the District of Louisiana, and it is hereby enacted by authority of the same:

First. That there shall be appointed and commissioned by the governor in each district a sheriff, etc., etc.

The foregoing is hereby declared to be a law for the District of Louisiana to take effect accordingly.

In Testimony Whereof, We, William Henry Harrison, governor, Thomas T. Davis, Henry Vanderburg, and John Griffin, judges in and over the Indiana Territory, have hereunto set our hands at Vincennes the first day of October, 1804, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-ninth.

(Signed)

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,
THOMAS TERRY DAVIS,
HENRY VANDERBURG,
JOHN GRIFFIN.

Congress took away this power March 3, 1805. (See 2 S. L. 331.)

The laws enacted by William Henry Harrison and the judges of Indiana territory were, therefore, the first laws that Iowa received of a local character from any American source, and are the laws of Iowa today unless they have been repealed.

Very respectfully,

E. F. WARE.

A QUESTION was brought before the county court of Dubuque in November or December last on petition of citizens of Dubuque, praying the court to allow a vote to be taken on the question: "Will the county of Dubuque become a stockholder in the Dubuque and Keokuk railroad company?" After argument it has been decided that the court has no power to put such a question, nor has the county the power to take stock. We understand that the judge has promised a written opinion on this subject.—*Dubuque Herald*, Feb. 5, 1852.

THE COMING OF BISHOP LORAS.

The sermon on the occasion of the investiture of Archbishop J. J. Keane of Dubuque, with the Pallium, at the Cathedral in that city, April 18, 1901, was preached by the Most Reverend JOHN IRELAND, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn. He began his eloquent discourse with the following account of the arrival of Mathias Loras, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Dubuque:

Remember the days of old, think upon every generation; ask thy father, and he will declare to thee; thy elders and they will tell thee.—Deut., 32:7.

It was the 19th day of April, of the year 1839. There was much commotion in the little village of Dubuque; a steamboat was breasting the swiftly flowing waters of the Mississippi river. A steamboat upon the upper Mississippi was always, in those days, an unusual sight, and whenever one did appear crowds flocked towards the landing to give it welcome and receive from it news of the far-off centers of population and civilization. This time, however, the eagerness of the villagers to rush river-ward was such as to denote extraordinary curiosity and expectation; it was the first steamboat of the season from Dubuque's emporium, St. Louis, and—this especially heightened public interest in its coming—the rumor had spread that aboard this steamboat there would be the newly consecrated bishop, Mathias Loras. No wonder that there was commotion in the village. A bishop for Dubuque! This to Catholics meant that hereafter the holy church would ceaselessly watch over their spiritual welfare; to all, whether Catholics, it was an augury that soon in Dubuque extensions would be given to streets and groups of houses, and Iowa's silent prairies would be gladdened by the tread of hosts of incoming immigrants.

And, indeed, as the steamboat was made fast to the shore, quickly from its deck stepped Dubuque's first bishop and two companions, priests who had come with him from distant France, Joseph Gretin and Anthony Pelamorgues. A few moments later the wood-built chapel at the base of the bluff, Dubuque's solitary monument to Catholicity, was filled to overflowing; the bishop with beating heart and tearful eye

blessed the people, blessed the diocese of present and future time; the Catholic church was formally and officially installed in the northwest.

At its inception the diocese embraced the vast region situated between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, from the state of Missouri on the south to British America on the north. In this immense territory there were at the time three chapels dedicated to Catholic worship, a proportionately limited Catholic population, and not one resident priest. What spiritual favors had been heretofore vouchsafed to Catholics had been coming from the hands of the illustrious and devoted Samuel Mazzuchelli, the pastor of the neighboring village of Galena, who, while caring for northern Illinois and western Wisconsin, was not unwilling to extend into Iowa his apostolic labors.

It is the 17th day of April, of the year 1901. As our pioneer fathers sixty-two years ago, so we today witness the induction into his charge of a bishop of Dubuque. How changed from the scene of 1839 is that of 1901!

O spirit of our sainted Loras, present with us, no doubt, this morning, prophet of hope as thou wast for Dubuque, for Iowa, for America, never hadst thou dared picture to thyself, as possible within six decades of years, the scenes of 1901, and all the wondrous things beyond it, which this scene symbolizes!

Where stood the one bishop and his two missionary companions, there stand today throngs of bishops and of priests; among them a very prince* of the church. In place of the little wood-built chapel, there arises a stately temple; instead of a few pioneers, there are the thousand laymen; and the modest ceremonial of the first episcopal installation makes room for the highest pomp and circumstance that Catholic rite allows. Nor, indeed, is it a mere episcopal installation that we are witnessing; Bishop Loras' see has grown into metro-

*His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.

politan dignity, and today, over the shoulders of Dubuque's prelate floats the Roman Pallium.

And all that our eyes perceive is but a feeble indication of the happenings of sixty-two years, of which the churches of Iowa, Minnesota and the two Dakotas are today the witnesses. In the portion of Christ's vineyard blessed by Bishop Loras on the 19th day of April, 1839—where before his arrival, there were three humble chapels, some hundreds of Catholics and not one resident priest—there are now eight bishops, two of whom are metropolitans, 970 priests, 976 churches, and a proportionate number of convents, schools, colleges and institutions of charity, with a Catholic population of 678,500. Such are the figures given by the Catholic directory for the year 1901. Surely, wonders have been wrought in the church of northwestern America. Let us therefore offer praise and thanks to the Almighty God; let us believe such wonders were not wrought without a special Providence, the mysterious designs of which it is our duty to discover, so that we may in humility and earnestness work the better in co-operation with the All-wise and All-bountiful will.

PROGRESS OF THE PRESS IN IOWA.—The increase of newspapers in this State has been very rapid during the last year. First came *The Burlington Tri-Weekly* and *Weekly Telegraph*—*The Muscatine Tri-Weekly Enquirer*—*The Dubuque Daily Tribune*—then *The Dubuque Tri-Weekly Herald*, and numbers of papers in the southern part of the State. We see now that *The Burlington Hawk-eye* and *Miners' Express* propose establishing tri-weeklies. So rolls the tide of intelligence.—*Bellevue Democrat*, April 30, 1851.

A HALF CENTURY AGO.

The Fayette County Union, of West Union, Iowa, in culling over the old files of its predecessor, *The Pioneer*, is finding some information that is very interesting. For instance, on February 27, 1855, the paper told of Robert Powers, of Taylorsville, driving to Dubuque with a load of game for market, and stated that the load included 1,000 prairie chickens, 1,000 quails, 1,000 rabbits, 8 deer, 5 wolves and 2 bears. Those were the days when game was plentiful in Iowa, and the sportsmen of to-day who go out for a few days shooting and come back with a few dozen birds do not know what real hunting is like. Another interesting item in the same paper tells of the early day schools of that county. In 1855 there were 17 school houses in the county, but in that day they never heard of such a thing as voting \$150,000 for additions to High Schools, and other expenditures of that sort, as is evidenced by the statement that those 17 school houses cost an aggregate of only \$1,898.98. There were 669 pupils attending school in the county that year, and there were seven men and nineteen women employed to teach them, the men receiving \$15.25 per month as salary, while the women received \$7.00.

On April 15, 1855, *The Pioneer* announced with a great deal of pride that "we now have a daily line of stage coaches between here and Dubuque, and before the summer is over we shall have a daily instead of a tri-weekly mail." In another place it tells of a proposed stage line to run from Iowa City to St. Paul, and of no less than 25,000 new settlers having pitched their tents in Minnesota. On January 23, 1855, the completion of the first bridge across the Mississippi was celebrated. It was a small wire suspension bridge at St. Anthony's Falls, where now stands Minneapolis. Will the next 50 years bring as many changes and improvements?—*Des Moines Daily Register*, March 22, 1902.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

A FITTING SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

It is our judgment, and we have contended for the carrying out of the idea, often singly and alone, that the preservation and publication of records and other historical data should take precedence of works of mere sentiment. Records and recollections are daily perishing, while works like monuments do not suffer by reasonable delay. Such was the position the writer and two or three friends, among whom we may mention Hon. Messrs. B. F. Gue and J. M. Shaffer, took at the time the question of erecting the Iowa Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on the site of the old capitol building in Des Moines, was pending before the twenty-fourth general assembly. But some of the persons who were interested in the effort to erect the monument, and determined that it should succeed, were in the habit of asking hesitating legislators this very ugly question, "Are you opposed to the soldiers?" While few attempted to answer, it still seemed to win votes, and one might have supposed that the soldiers were everywhere clamoring for its erection. The influences in favor of the monument won the day. Whether it was the better policy to build the monument at that time, or erect a historical and memorial building, we may leave wholly to the judgment of the reader.

Our thoughts have been turned to this subject upon an examination of two volumes which have reached the Historical Department. We refer to the Revised Registers or Rosters of the Soldiers and Sailors who served in the civil war from the States of New Hampshire and Vermont. These books were prepared and published under State authority. They are so much alike that we need not stop to point out

any minor points of difference. Each regiment is dealt with separately and very fully. There is first given a history of the organization, with a list of the battles in which it participated, followed by a full roster of the command, showing the date of enlistment and muster into service, the date and place of discharge, casualties, or death, of every officer and man. The same course is pursued in regard to service in the navy, or in the smaller organizations, as batteries, separate companies, the Veteran Reserve Corps, etc. Every fact required to be set down in the records of his State, showing the military history of the volunteer soldier, is here set forth. The histories which preface each regimental register or roster, while necessarily brief, were evidently prepared with the utmost care. Many of them embody facts which would otherwise soon have passed into oblivion. Each is a beautifully printed, large quarto volume, one making 863 and the other 1347 pages.

These splendid volumes seem to us to come near perfection as "soldiers' monuments." Every soldier gets full credit for his service, and the books are certain to have as long a life as the State or Nation. Others of the Eastern States have either published similar volumes or have them in preparation. While this, like all other historical work, has been most unaccountably delayed in Iowa, we are confident that it will be undertaken and carried out at no distant day. We cannot for a moment entertain the idea that any intelligent person will long oppose it. Pride in the heroism displayed by the soldiers of Iowa on so many bloody fields, will yet manifest itself in the completion and perpetuation of their records.

FORTY YEARS AGO.

Capt. W. H. Ingham, of Algona, Iowa, presents in our leading article his recollections of the Northern Border Brigade, in which he commanded a company, recruited and mustered into the service of the State, for the purpose of

protecting the northwestern frontier of Iowa from the incursions of the Indians. It is difficult to realize that our State, only forty years ago, was compelled to raise a military force, and place it within formidable stockades, to protect the lives of its citizens! All of the events of which he gives the reader so clear an account transpired scarcely longer since than the life-time of a generation—certainly within the recollection of thousands of persons now living. It is a marvellous transition from wide untenanted prairies to cultivated farms and smiling towns and villages, with peace and safety throughout our borders. This article is valuable not only as being the faithful report of an eye-witness, but as embodying all the important official reports concerning the Northern Border Brigade. Up to this time information relative to this military occupation of northwestern Iowa has not been accessible, but the present publication will result in placing it in our public libraries. Our illustrations include a fine steel portrait of Capt. Ingham, with half-tones of several of the officers and cuts of three important stockades.

NATIONAL HATREDS.

One who has lived over seventy years lately mentioned that he had known the existence and the passing away of many hatreds which at times filled the minds of the people. Away back in the thirties, and long before, most Yankees abhorred the name or sight of an Englishman. At that time there were still a dozen or more white-haired Revolutionary soldiers within his own county, and soldiers of the war of 1812 were in some regions almost as plenty as those of the civil war around us now. Our hatred of those "Britishers" was simply intense. We impugned their courage, having no doubt whatever that one American was a match for half a dozen of them. We indulged even a bitterer hatred of the "Tories"—now euphoniously called "Loyalists of the Amer-

ican Revolution"—comparing them to Judas Iscariot and other unsavory characters. In our common life no meaner thing could be said of a man than that he was a "Tory." But in the later forties we went to war with Mexico, and "all of a sudden" we stopped abusing John Bull and poured out our objurgations upon "the greasers." We captured Santa Anna's wooden leg and made much of it. Perambulating circuses presented caricatures of a battle with the Mexicans, in which we invariably put "the greasers" to flight, to the great delight of the applauding audiences. We whipped the Mexicans in every battle. At last we "hoisted the stars and stripes over the halls of the Montezumas," and dictated peace on our own terms, getting a lot of territory for the purpose of making more slave states. We indulged in all kinds of left-handed compliments at the expense of the poor Mexicans and kept it up for more than a decade. We had whipped them in a succession of hard fought battles and reduced them to a pitiable condition—and why shouldn't we brag about it? Things progressed in this way till the outbreak of the civil war, and—we apparently quit hating the Mexicans—but how we did hate the rebels! Nothing we could say was half severe enough. This feeling intensified as the four years' war went on to its close. And we continued to hate them during a long reign of peace. "The bloody shirt" seemed to wave everywhere—even in Iowa! Men ran for office, borne on to their triumphs over a tide of calumny. We had candidates on the stump for governors and members of congress whose only "claim" for election seemed to rest upon the intensity with which they hated the rebels. Members of congress would abuse the rebel brigadiers without stint. Of course, the rebel brigadier would hurl back the epithets, though the twain might possibly go out arm in arm together for liquid refreshments, to laugh over the rencounter at leisure. Northern members of congress in reconstruction days would vote for the admission of rebel states, and then go upon the stump at home to thresh over the old

straw of the rebellion—and so get back to Washington. This would hardly seem to be logical, but it is the simple truth. “We must make treason odious”, and so on and so forth. But when President McKinley so happily put his stamp of disapprobation upon all this sort of thing it ceased. His retention of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee at Havana, his prompt appointment of rebel brigadiers in the U. S. volunteer service, and his acceptance of volunteers from all over the south, made this hatred of Dixie as much out of date as events that happened before the flood. When these events were initiated “the bloody shirt” was furled never to wave again. “Young America” has no use for that threadbare garment. Our heartiest plaudits were freely bestowed upon Generals Fitzhugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler, and our soldiers were glad to be led by them into battle. Peace—genuine peace—had come to the whole country so far as its two lately opposing sections were concerned. Some day we shall doubtless contemplate the Filipinos under far different circumstances from those of the present time. It is devoutly to be hoped, and not at all improbable, that we may yet come to think of them in a general way as well as we do of Englishmen, Tories, Mexicans, or rebels in our own country, for the whirligig of time brings to pass many strange things.

SOME OF OUR FLAGS.

The Historical Department is in possession of three American flags the associations clustering around which make them more than ordinarily interesting and valuable. In the order in which they were received their history is as follows:

The first is one that was known in the old Fourth Iowa Infantry, in the civil war, as “Gen. Williamson’s Flag.” It was made by the women of Des Moines, and presented to Adjutant J. A. Williamson as he was leaving home to join the regiment with which he was so long and so honorably

identified. He carried it with him through the war and kept it in his home until last year when he sent it with other belongings to the Historical Department in the custody of which he wished it to remain.

The next is one of four flags used at the unveiling of the Lafayette Monument in Paris, July 4, 1900. It was presented by Hon. J. S. Crawford, a former representative in the State legislature from Cass county, who was present at the unveiling of the monument. He presented it to the Historical Department some months ago.

The most noted of the three flags is doubtless that which waved over the U. S. House of Representatives during the Memorial Services in honor of President McKinley Feb. 27, 1902. After the two hours in which it was unfurled, it was hauled down and sent by Speaker David B. Henderson to the Historical Department, as a gift to the people of Iowa. It is a most beautiful flag, twelve feet long by eight in width. It was used to drape the portrait of the late Honorable Francis Springer upon the occasion of its public reception in the Historical Art Gallery, and was also unfurled during the late Grand Army Encampment and during the sessions of the Sovereign Grand Lodge, Independent Order of Odd Fellows of the World. These flags will only be used at rare intervals, and upon occasions of historic interest.

CONCERNING GOVERNOR CHAMBERS.

Many of our readers will doubtless remember a biographical sketch of John Chambers, our second territorial governor, which was written by Hon. William Penn Clarke, reporter of the supreme court of Iowa from 1855 to 1860. This sketch appeared in *THE ANNALS*, Vol. I, No. 6, (July, 1894,) pp. 425-445. Some time after the article appeared we received the following letter from John Chambers, a grandson of the governor. The letter, which fully explains itself, was mislaid at the time it was received, and only came to light a

short time ago. Its publication at this time, however, will serve the purpose of the writer in the correction of the historical error:

402 W. ORMSBY AVE., LOUISVILLE, KY., November 27, 1894.

MY DEAR SIR:—After an absence from the city for several months, I returned some time ago, finding waiting for me a copy of the July issue of *THE ANNALS OF IOWA*, containing the sketch of the life of my grandfather, John Chambers. For this I am greatly obliged to you. I would like to call your attention to one error in the sketch by Mr. Clarke, viz: that of imputing to my grandfather the authorship of the letter given on page 443, dated at Hudson City. This letter could never have been written by him, for several reasons. It refers to his wife as being still alive, when in fact his second and last wife died in Kentucky in 1832. Again, it speaks of a son "Lewis," and of "May" (probably a daughter), neither of which names has been used in our family as long ago as we have any record. From the tone of this letter, I should be inclined to think that it was written by another John Chambers, probably of no kin, who must have been a physician, or possibly a minister of the gospel, attending to his parochial duties. . . . Could you inform me where the original of the picture following page 432 was obtained? I am very anxious to know this, as none of the family here has any recollection of ever having seen it before.

Yours very truly,

JOHN CHAMBERS.

It would seem that Mr. Clarke was in error in attributing the authorship of that letter—the original of which cannot now be found—to Governor Chambers. While the letter of itself possesses no significance, it is proper that the matter be set right. As to the portrait (facing page 432) it occurred in a list of steel plates owned by a New York dealer, from whom we obtained 1,000 impressions to illustrate Mr. Clarke's article. Our attention had been called to this portrait by the late Hon. Theodore S. Parvin, who believed it to be authentic. There is however, quite a dissimilarity between the engraved signatures under each portrait and between the portraits themselves. The portrait of Governor Chambers, in his old age (facing page 441), was engraved from the original oil painting by George H. Yewell, which is one of the finest works of art in the ownership of the State.

IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

Last winter an unsuccessful effort was made in this State to establish a Hall of Archives, with the same ends in view as those which have prompted a like step in Alabama. Connected also with this movement is the establishment of a bi-monthly journal to be known as "The Gulf States Historical Magazine," to be devoted to history, literature and criticism, with especial reference to the Gulf States and adjacent territory. In speaking of these efforts for the perpetuation of records, the "Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly" says:

The State of Alabama has taken an advance step in the establishment of a Department of Archives and History, and making a liberal appropriation for the maintenance of the same. The objects of the department are the care and custody of the State archives, collection of material bearing on the history of the State, publication of official records and other historical materials, and the encouragement of research and the diffusion of knowledge with reference to the history and resources of the State.

The department is under the immediate charge of Thomas M. Owens, who has been elected director by the board of trustees. The director is an enthusiastic antiquarian, an able historian, and an energetic and persistent worker. Circular No. 1 of the Department shows that the director has laid out his work in a most intelligent, orderly and comprehensive manner, and the State of Alabama is to be congratulated upon the organization of this timely movement, especially by Tennessee, in which *there is not a complete file of the publications of any department of the State.*

That last remark will equally apply to the State of Iowa. Should it not be corrected at the earliest possible date?

MILLARD FILLMORE, who retired from the Presidency in 1853, visited our State in June, 1855. He came to Rock Island at the opening of the C. R. I. & P. R. R. to that point, and thence by steamboat to Dubuque, where he had an informal but enthusiastic reception. State Senator P. W. Crawford, who was present, gives an account of the affair in *The Telegraph-Herald* of Sept. 17, 1902.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The American Fur Trade in the Far West; a History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and the Rocky Mountains, and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe. Map and Illustrations. By Henry Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Author of "The Yellowstone," 3 vols. pp. 1029, New York. Francis P. Harper, 1902.

President Jefferson and the promoters of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 had originally no object in view but the acquisition of New Orleans as a port for American commerce and trade, the restrictions upon which by Spain had been excessively burdensome. The part of the Purchase which lies west of the Mississippi river was then but little known, with the exception of the small settlements at St. Genevieve and St. Louis, and was deemed of little value. It was in possession of savage and warlike tribes.

The author says that "for forty years after the Purchase the people of the United States were at a loss to know what to do with their new possession, and that the single attraction it offered in a commercial way was its wealth of furs, the gathering of which became, and for a long time remained, the only business of importance in this entire region." This is an extreme statement in view of the facts that within the forty years named the State of Louisiana, more than half of which is west of the Mississippi river, and the States of Missouri and Arkansas were admitted into the Union, and the Territory of Iowa organized; they having within that time gained an American population of nearly a million souls, who were employed in opening the wilderness and in the production of cotton, corn, tobacco, hemp, and other commodities of commerce. The extension of slavery into the States named was also a "business of importance in a commercial way," as it proved of fearful consequence to the Nation in a later day.

By the "Fur Trade in the Far West," however, the author means that west of the Missouri river. Of this he gives a very full and interesting account. The work covers a wide field and is the fruit of large research. It is written in a clear and animated style, in the historical spirit of fairness and justice to all parties, and contains many fine descriptions of scenes, persons, and events. The author was the engineer of the construction of the Floyd monument at Sioux City, a notice of which is on pp. 148, 177 of this volume of THE ANNALS. His history may not survive as long as that noble monument, but it will tell many generations, who shall dwell in the vast area between the Missouri river and the Pacific ocean, of the traders and trappers who blazed the way for its civilization.

The exploration of the "Far West" by fur traders receives historical consideration in these volumes for the first time. Many narratives have been published about it, but they were mostly written to make good stories, and abound in exaggerations. Irving's "Astoria" and "Captain Bonneville," and Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," are the most valuable

books on the subject hitherto. While recognizing much of value in Hubert Howe Bancroft's volumes, Captain Chittenden regards his account of Astoria and his abuse of Washington Irving as "a disgrace to American history." The error of the United States in not supporting the commercial enterprise of its citizens in Oregon is deplored. An enlightened and vigorous policy by our government would have saved the whole northwest coast to the United States. The abandonment of the original plan of our government to keep the Indian trade in the hands of its own agents is also deplored, as having opened the trade to adventurers who exploited the Indians. It proved a fatal error. Had the original system been maintained, it would have led the Indians to a better destiny; it would have averted the long and bloody wars and the corruption and bad faith which have made a hundred years of our Indian affairs a "Century of Dishonor." The fur business was mostly conducted where the law did not reach. Throughout its whole career, says the author, "the American Fur Company was an object of popular execration, as all grasping monopolies are. Small traders had no show; desperate measures were resorted to in order to get them out of the way, as the Standard Oil Company today crushes any rival enterprise that dares to show its head in any part of the United States." Congress prohibited, July 9, 1832, the introduction of liquors into the Indian country. But the traders evaded the law by all sorts of devices. They built a distillery in the Indian country. Forbidden to sell, they gave liquor to the Indians.

While these volumes are devoted to the American fur trade, they notice the British trade as carried on by the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company of Montreal, and the rivalry and interference of those companies with the American companies. They show the action of British traders in exciting Indian hostilities against the United States in the war of 1812, as previously in the Revolutionary war.

Only scanty reference is made to the fur trade as carried on from St. Louis in the days of Spanish rule. Laclede and Auguste Chouteau, the founders of St. Louis, were in that trade. Captain Chittenden describes in a charming way the rise of St. Louis as an offspring of the fur trade, and the growth of the city for three-fourths of a century as mainly dependent upon it. THE ANNALS, iii, 649, 650, has a copy of Julien Dubuque's account with A. Chouteau, Nov. 12, 1804, in which Dubuque is to pay six hundred dollars "in deer skins." Manuel Lisa was an interesting character from that period. He was a Spaniard, born in New Orleans, Sept. 8, 1772; he was associated with William Morrison and Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, Ill., in the "Missouri Fur Company." From 1807 to his death in 1820 he conducted annual expeditions up the Missouri river, and spent seven or eight winters in the wilderness. When British traders were exciting the tribes of the upper Missouri against the United States, he withdrew his establishments, and concentrated them near the mouth of the Platte, where he built Fort Lisa, which became at that time the most important post on the Missouri river. Those Indians who were under his influence, he said to Governor William Clark, of Missouri Territory, "did not

arm against the Republic, but against Great Britain, and struck the Iowas, the allies of that power." At the time peace was proclaimed, forty chiefs had arranged with him to carry an expedition of several thousand warriors against the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, who were at war with the United States, and silence them at once. Upon resigning his commission as sub-Indian agent, he wrote to Governor Clark: "In ceasing to be in the employment of the United States, I shall not be less devoted to its interests. I have suffered enough in person and property under a different government, to know how to appreciate the one under which I now live."

The fur trade in Iowa is not in the compass of these volumes. In the appendix, however, is a letter from Thomas Forsyth to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, written the year before the Black Hawk war, showing how it was then carried on. The facts are of interest in Iowa history. We make an extract:

ST. LOUIS, October 24, 1831.

The fur trade of the countries on the Mississippi as high up as above the Falls of St. Anthony, and on the Missouri river to the Sioux establishment some distance above Council Bluffs, continues to be monopolized by the American Fur Company, who have divided the country into departments, as follows:

Russell Farnham ("a Green Mountain boy, a typical frontiersman of the better class," died of cholera at St. Louis, Oct. 30, 1832) and George Davenport (ANNALS iii, 392) have all of the country of the Sac and Fox Indians up to Dubuque's mines, not including the Fox Indians at that place; also the Winnebago and other Indians on the lower parts of Rock river, and the Iowa Indians, who live near the Black Snake Hills (where St. Joseph, Mo., now is).

Joseph Rolette ("a leading merchant and trader at Prairie du Chien," died 1842) has all of the Indians from Dubuque's mines to above St. Anthony's Falls, and up St. Peter's river to its source, and the Indians on the Wisconsin and upper parts of Rock river.

John P. Cabanne's division has the Indians on the Missouri as high up as a point above the Council Bluffs, including the Pawnees of the interior. McKenzie, Laidlow and Lamont have the Sioux of the Missouri.

The American Fur Company send their goods from New York to St. Louis, which are sent up the Missouri river to the different posts in a small steamboat. At those places the furs are received on board, and brought down to St. Louis, where they are counted, repacked, and shipped to New Orleans and New York, where they are unpacked, made up into bales, and sent to Europe, except some of the finest, particularly otter skins, which are sent to China. Cabanne and McKenzie take up their goods in the American Fur Company's steamboats. Rolette procures his goods at Mackinaw, takes them via Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, where they are assorted and forwarded to the different posts. Farnham and Davenport take their goods from St. Louis to the Indian villages in keel-boats.

The traders take to the Indian country blankets, calicos, cottons, rifles, guns, powder, flints, lead, knives, looking glasses, vermilion, kettles, beaver and muskrat traps, bridles, spurs, needles, thread, wampum, horses, tomahawks, half-axes, etc., etc. They give credit to the Indians in the same manner as for the last sixty or eighty years, charging very high prices. The following are the prices charged the Sac and Fox Indians, whose present population exceeds six thousand. They are compelled to take goods at these high prices, for they cannot do without them, but would starve:

Blanket.....	\$10.00,	cost.....	\$ 3.52
Rifle	30.00,	cost.....	13.00
Powder, one pound.....	4.00,	cost.....	.20
		Expenses.....	4.18
	<u>\$44.00</u>		<u>\$20.90</u>

Thus if the Indian pays his debt, the trader is a gainer of more than 100 per cent. He takes for a dollar a large buckskin (six pounds), or two doeskins, four muskrats, and four or five raccoons; or allows three dollars for an otterskin, or two dollars a pound for beaver, and counts it a tolerable business if he receives one-half of the amount he gave credit for. The American Fur Company ought to be satisfied. There is a man now in this city (General William H. Ashley, founder of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company), who receives annually a sum from that company on condition that he will not enter the Indian country. They have monopolized the whole trade on the frontiers, together with the Indian annuities, and everything an Indian has to sell, and claim a large amount for debts due them for non-payment of credits given to the Indians at different periods.

In my intercourse with the Indians for forty years I never found that coercive measures had any good effect with them, but that conciliatory measures always tended to produce every purpose required.

THOMAS FORSYTH, Indian Agent.

Among the many graphic and vivid descriptions in these volumes we may refer to those on the Oregon Trail, pp. 460-3; the Rocky Mountains, pp. 725-31; the Mountain Valleys, pp. 743-50; the Great American Desert, pp. 754-5; Prairie Storms and Fires, pp. 755-6; the Missouri river, pp. 762-774; the Buffalo and the Beaver, pp. 809-822; the Sioux Nations, pp. 863-7.

Of the Iowa Indians Captain Chittenden says that they "sprang with the Otoes and the Missouris from a common stock which was closely related to the Siouan family. What their course of migration was is unknown, but they had crossed the Mississippi before they fell under the observation of white men. The pristine home of these Indians was what is now the State which bears their name. They were found within the historic period in almost every part of that region. Once a powerful tribe, they had been ruined by the smallpox and the Sioux, and were a small tribe of only 800 people when the American traders opened relations with them. They traded principally at Robidoux post at Black Snake Hills, where St. Joseph, Mo., now stands, and also to some extent at the Council Bluffs," p. 874.

The "Fort Croghan," which the author places "in Omaha," p. 950, was on the east side of the Missouri river, in the eastern part of what is now the city of Council Bluffs. It was built in 1839. ANNALS OF IOWA, first series, ix. 526, third series, v. 383.

WILLIAM SALTER.

History of the Constitutions of Iowa. By Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Ph. D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Iowa. Published by the Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines: 1902.

The publication of a history is an event. Anybody with access to annals and history, with a knack of writing and with bread to eat while he

writes, can grind out a historical novel. The novel of the period has its day and ceases to be; but a history, valuable from the first, becomes more and more so as the years pass. To the Historical Department of Iowa, (through its honored Curator, Mr. Aldrich,) and to Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the Iowa State University, the public is indebted for a veritable and valuable contribution to history, a work of 352 pages written by Professor Shambaugh at the request of Mr. Aldrich—and published by the department over which he presides. The book is entitled a "History of the Constitutions of Iowa." It might well be termed a political history of our State, for such it is in fact. It is not a mass of dry detail, nor is it a labored compilation of State documents. It is, rather, a comprehensive review of the processes of evolution by which a great and influential commonwealth has developed from an aggregation of squatters, the several stages of evolution thoroughly marked by the several constitutions which have been framed for its guidance, these constitutions admirably defining and re-defining the powers and duties, the rights and limitations of a free people.

Reading these pages, one must be strongly impressed with the marvelously rapid and healthy growth of "the only free child of the Missouri Compromise," as Senator Grimes once happily styled the commonwealth of Iowa: first, an unknown portion of that great empire, the Louisiana Purchase, the haunt of the bold explorer and the intrepid fur-trader; then the "beautiful land" chosen by pioneer home-builders and tillers of the soil; later, an unbounded portion of the territory of Michigan; in 1836 part of the territory of Wisconsin; two years later, the territory of Iowa, and in 1846 the State of Iowa,—though with a population of not more than a hundred thousand; whereas, now, in this year of grace 1902, her population is nearly two million and a quarter!

But mere increase in population can never be the measure of a commonwealth's progress. This history is especially valuable in its story of the sociological development of the commonwealth. That story is written into the several constitutions of Iowa, territory and State, and it is to those documents our historian has gone for material and inspiration for his work. That Professor Shambaugh has handled his material thoroughly and scientifically cannot be doubted by any one familiar with his earlier contributions to the yet unwritten exhaustive history of the State. He has brought to his task a thorough knowledge of the subject, a student's fine enthusiasm, a scholar's firm grasp, and, withal, a trained imagination which has enabled him to look in upon an association of squatters, a territorial legislature, or a pioneer constitutional convention, as Parkman looked in upon the struggles of the French, the English and the Indians, or as Motley viewed the intrigues and infamies of the Spaniards and the trials and martyrdoms of the Hollanders, making clear the heretofore obscure chapters of our State's history, and establishing for the reader a historically true relativity as to the principal acts and events contributory to the evolution of this region from a trackless wilderness to an aggrega-

tion of rich and populous communities bound together by community of interest and ever increasingly close association.

The work is perhaps strongest in its explanation and elucidation of that seeming inconsistency, "the Squatter Constitutions," and in the justice tardily given the pioneers who, away back in the thirties long in advance of State or even territorial organization, associated themselves for the common defense and for the better preservation of peace and a surer guaranty of mutual rights. The by-laws and resolutions these squatters formulated from their experience are nowhere surpassed as concrete statements of absolute equity as between man and man, and as between the individual and the mass. These resolutions and by-laws, well termed "the Squatter Constitutions," are wisely given prominence in the work under review. And yet, as Mr. Shambaugh remarks, these squatters "were beyond the pale of constitutional government. No statute of Congress protected them in their rights to the claims they had staked out and the improvements they had made. In law they were trespassers; in fact they were honest farmers." Over a hundred of these extra-legal organizations existed; but complete manuscript records of only two of them have come to light. These, thanks to the Iowa State Historical Society, and to Curator Aldrich of the Iowa Historical Department, have recently been saved from oblivion and the first named published in pamphlet form.

An interesting sample of the fraternal spirit of these associations and of the contempt with which the squatters regarded the land speculators of their time is given in the "constitution" of the Johnson County Association, perhaps the most elaborate of these historic documents. For example, this body resolved to "discourage any attempts on the part of any and every person to intrude in any way upon the rightful claims of another," the presumption in such case being that "a person thus attempting to take away a portion of the hard earnings of the enterprising and industrious settler is dishonest and no gentleman"!

They had their own way of making it hot for the speculator when he appeared in person or by representative at land sales. They resolved: "that for the purpose of guarding our rights against the speculator we hereby pledge ourselves to stand by each other and to remain on the ground until all sales are over if it becomes necessary in order that each and every settler may be secured in his claim or claims to which he is justly entitled by the Laws of this Association."

The territorial epoch of Iowa's history from 1836 to 1846, without doubt the most important epoch in that history as viewed from the standpoint of the student of organic law, forms the larger and most valuable part of this work. The Organic Acts of 1836 and 1838, the first constitution of the territory, though no expression of the people of the territory, was, as our author says, a great legacy from our national Bill of Rights, the Ordinance of 1787. The first important campaign of education through which the territory passed was over the question of a convention to formulate a constitution for the proposed State of Iowa. This was in 1840. The proposition met an overwhelming defeat at the polls, the con-

servative masses not yet willing to shoulder the financial burdens then borne by the nation. In '41 the Whig Governor, Chambers, succeeding Lucas, a Democrat, thought he would like to try it again and so in '42 another vote was taken, but not till after exhaustive debate in the press and on the stump. The work under review admirably epitomizes the pros and cons of this great campaign of education. It ended, as the first campaign ended, in the defeat of the measure. Still not satisfied, and relying on recent large additions to the population of the territory, Governor Chambers urged a resubmission of the question of a constitutional convention. In '44 the people again voted, but with a different result. This time, although there was little of the excitement of previous campaigns, there was a large majority for a convention.

The constitutional convention of 1844, with the campaigns which followed, was an epoch-maker well worth the extended space here given it.

The debates in the convention and the discussions on the stump, with the long contest over the western boundary of the proposed State,—whether it should be the artificial line proposed by Nicollet, or the natural boundary made by the Missouri river,—the defeat of the proposed constitution two years in succession, because of the injection of the boundary question into the issue, the transfer of the question to Congress, the final adoption of the constitution and admission of the State with its Missouri river boundary, all together constitute a valuable addition to the history of our State, now for the first time written as a whole.

The convention of 1857 and the constitution it submitted are described in the last two chapters of the book,—more briefly than the importance of the subject would seem to warrant; but, as the author says in his preface, an adequate discussion of the subject would have greatly transcended the limits prescribed for his work. It is to be hoped that, either in book form or in the form of collections published by the State Historical Society, Professor Shambaugh will at an early date present such an outline of the 1857 convention debates, and of the popular discussion following, as he has already given us in his "Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846."

JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

State Library, Des Moines.

The History of the Louisiana Purchase, by James K. Hosmer, LL. D. Appletons, pp. 230.

This volume is written from a French or rather Napoleonic point of view. The title is a misnomer; for the volume records the cession, not the purchase of Louisiana. "It came to us," says Dr. Hosmer, "through French statesmanship with little agency of our own." The author overrates the former, and depreciates the latter. The volume contains its own refutation in Livingston's "Memoir" to Talleyrand, Feb., 1803, which is given in an appendix.

Talleyrand was the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had the ear and

the full confidence of Napoleon at that period. That year (1803) was the turning point in Napoleon's career. He was then "First Consul of the French Republic," and acted "in the name of the French people." The next year he was "Emperor of the French." Imperialism, Caesarism, however, was as dominant in Napoleon's mind in 1803, as in 1804. He took all matters into his own hands, and sold Louisiana on his own motion, without consent from the French Assembly, which the Constitution of the Republic made essential to a sale of any portion of French territory. With the same *nonchalance* he disregarded his pledge to Spain, not to sell Louisiana without Spain's consent. He acted from his own ambitious designs, of which his mind was then full, to invade England, and from an apprehension that some of the British war ships then in the Gulf of Mexico might seize New Orleans. "If I were in their place," said Napoleon to Marbois at the time, "I would not have waited." It was what Talleyrand called "the empire of circumstances" that controlled Napoleon. He sold what he was "certain to lose," as he said to his brother Lucien. He is not deserving of the honor of statesmanship which Dr. Hosmer awards him. In his political heaven "the star of destiny" was his only guide. There was never a greater victim of self-adulation, and the worship he paid himself he required of every one around him.

Jefferson and Livingston were men of a different make and nature. They were patriots of a single eye to the advantage of their country. They knew the importance of New Orleans to western commerce and trade. The free navigation of the Mississippi to its mouth had engaged the attention of Mr. Jefferson from the beginning of the Government, when he was Secretary of State under Washington. He had desired an exploration of the country west of the Mississippi to the Pacific, with a view to discover a route across the continent. Immediately the purchase was made, he sent Lewis and Clark up the Missouri, and also had it in mind to send exploring parties up Red river, up the Des Moines, and up the St. Peters, as he stated at the time to Capt. Lewis.

Livingston had been associated with Jefferson from the time they served together on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Their sympathies were in common; they had kindred views. Livingston possessed eminent sagacity. Early in his correspondence with Talleyrand he suggested a cession to the United States of the portion of Louisiana above the Arkansas river. After the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, President Jefferson in writing to Livingston, Nov. 4, 1803, called it "Your Treaty." w. s.

The Iowa Band—New and Revised Edition. By Rev. Ephraim Adams, D. D. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, pp. xx, 240.

The venerable author, now in his 85th year, has prepared a second edition of a book he published thirty-two years ago. It is enlarged with sixty additional pages, and illustrated with portraits of persons referred

to, and with pictures of churches and other buildings of both the earlier and the later times.

The new edition spans a period of almost sixty years, since a few young men in a New England theological institution were revolving the question as to where they should do their life-work. At the same time their minds were turned to Iowa, which, in the language of Mr. Calhoun about that time in the Senate (January 24, 1843), had "sprung up beyond the Mississippi in a really wonderful and almost miraculous growth, as if by magic." The young men pursued the question prayerfully on successive Tuesday evenings in an alcove of the seminary library, and in October, 1843, nine of them reached the new Territory, and two more came in 1844.

The Rev. James L. Hill, D. D., of Salem, Mass., a son of one of the band, furnishes a grateful and graceful introduction to the new edition. His skill and taste have also assisted Dr. Adams in bringing out the new edition in the finished form in which it appears. He is a younger brother of Dr. Gershom Hill, the honored superintendent for many years of the Iowa hospital at Independence.

Dr. Adams is the only survivor of the original board of trustees of Iowa College, as it was incorporated in 1847. He has been from the beginning a chief factor in its growth and prosperity. He installed the new president of the college in office on the 11th of June. He is included in what the Rev. Dr. Truman M. Post said, at one of the early commencements, of Father Asa Turner and other founders of the college, "The greatness and beneficence of their work shall be duly estimated and chronicled in God's book; while on earth, as it rolls toward its better ages, their memories shall ever grow green and blossom from the dust."

In the conclusion of his book, Dr. Adams, inspired by the devotion of his whole life to Christ and to Iowa, appeals to his brother ministers. To quote a few words:

"The crown of all work, the most far-reaching power for good in this world is the preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, each one in the church and among the people where in the providence of God he is placed. In His providence you are here in Iowa. One cannot go everywhere or do everything. This is your field. What better can you desire? Ponder its history, its wonderful development. There is inspiration in it. If in its workers at the beginning you see aught to admire or imitate, bear it in mind. But dwell not upon the past. Think not to say, 'No more days of heroic, Christian labor here, but the humdrum of common place.' No! Keep your eye upon the present. See what now is to be done, with your face to the future. Two millions and more now here, but millions more are soon to be. The true frontiers, the heroic days are before. New steps are to be taken, new advances made to bring every Christian minister nearer to the pattern of his Lord. Let each be faithful in his own field; for faithful work in Iowa is world-wide. Help to make her more and more the gem of states. This cannot fail to bless the nation, and the nations of earth."

W. S.

Stephen A. Douglas, by William Garrott Brown. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., pp. 141.

This small volume is a valuable contribution to the political history of the United States and of the Democratic party during the eight years before the Civil war. Mr. Douglas was then the most prominent and the most influential man before the American people. He was the chief factor in shaping during those years the course of events which, instead of making him President, as he expected, plunged the Nation into bloody strife. His responsibility in the matter is clearly shown by the author, who describes himself in language of exceeding pathos as "an old soldier of the Confederacy, scarred with the wounds he took at Bull Run, looking back over a wasted life to the youth he sacrificed in that ill-starred cause."

The volume is written in a compact, terse, and vigorous style. It is worthy the attention of every one who would understand our political history under Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, the immediate predecessors of Abraham Lincoln.

W. S.

FIRST BRIDGE AT CEDAR FALLS.—Notwithstanding the "hard times," this town in its corporate capacity, has built during the past winter, a good substantial bridge across the Cedar river, at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars. This is a matter of much importance to those who travel westward. This bridge obviates the necessity of trusting to poor ferries or fording with a swift current and rough bottom at Waterloo. Besides the convenience of the bridge, the State road from Independence to Cedar Falls (now in excellent order) is shorter by several miles than the road via Waterloo. The bridge, which is one of the strongest and best in the State, was built by K. H. Kelly, of Iowa City. The whole time from the closing of the contract till the bridge was in crossing order, was eleven weeks, including the period of the heavy freshet. The work has been done quickly and well, and reflects much credit on the contractor, and must prove of immense benefit to the town.—*Cor. Dubuque Northwest, April 2, 1858.*

NOTABLE DEATHS.

JOHN FRANCIS DUNCOMBE was born in the town of Waterford, Erie county, Pa., Oct. 22, 1831; he died at Fort Dodge, Iowa, Aug. 2, 1902. His father was a farmer. The son remained at home until he was sixteen, working on the farm in the summers and attending the district school in the winters. He went to Meadville, Pa., for his preparatory studies, entering Allegheny College at that place, where he graduated four years later. In the meantime he had studied awhile at Centre College, Danville, Ky. He taught in the public schools in the winter season to earn money with which to meet his college expenses. His admirable career of self-help and self-reliance began early. He pursued his legal studies after his college days in Meadville and Erie, and was admitted to the bar at the latter place when he was 22 years of age. After practicing his profession a year in Erie he removed to Fort Dodge, Iowa, which thenceforward was his home. From the date of his settlement there few men in any community have led more active or useful lives. He took a place at once at the head of his profession in northwestern Iowa. In addition to a large practice, he was the attorney of the Illinois Central railroad in a district embracing seventeen counties, for a period of over thirty years. While he achieved a proud success as a lawyer, he always counseled amicable settlements out of court where such methods were practicable. A year or two after he settled in Fort Dodge he became the editor of *The Sentinel*, the pioneer journal of northwestern Iowa. Later still, he conducted *The Fort Dodge Democrat*. He was a vigorous and outspoken editor, fearless and aggressive. Always a democrat, he soon rose to a commanding position in his party, which coveted his counsels and leadership, until a few years ago, when he retired from politics. As a speaker he possessed rare ability. He was equally at home before a jury or in arguing a case in the supreme court. In a political canvass his party had no more effective campaigner in the State. But he was never happier than when speaking at a re-union of pioneer settlers. On such occasions he was always a favorite, and his ready wit and rare good humor never failed to elicit the heartiest applause. Mr. Duncombe was chosen to the State Senate in 1859, and served in the sessions of 1860 and 1862. He was twice elected to the House—1871 and 1879. He was, therefore, in the State Legislature eight years—one of the most influential men of his party in each branch. As a legislator he was well-informed, resourceful, bold and aggressive, and generally successful except in partisan measures. The Iowa Pioneer Law Makers chose him as president of their association at its organization February 25, 1886, upon which occasion he delivered an interesting address full of reminiscences of former times. He was a useful man on the Iowa Columbian Commission of 1892-3, and of the Commission which erected the beautiful monument at Lake Okoboji. Had the democracy been in power there was no position in the gift of his State to which he might not have aspired with an assurance of success. He was also a large farmer, a dealer in lands, and one of the foremost Iowa coal mine operators. Fort Dodge always found in Mr. Duncombe a powerful advocate of her interests. He was a friend of education and of every local improvement, a projector and builder of railroads, a man of affairs in many directions. His most successful business enterprise was no doubt the manufacture of stucco and other products from the gypsum beds adjacent to Fort Dodge. This interest has become one of great importance. A distinguishing event in Mr. Duncombe's life was his participation in the Spirit Lake Expedition of 1857, in which he was the captain of Company B, his own account of which was given with his portrait in *THE ANNALS OF IOWA* (Vol. III, 3d series, pp. 491-508) for October, 1898. It will be remembered that the expedition was under the command of Maj. William Williams. He was one

of the regents of the State University during eighteen of the most important years of its history. Mr. Duncombe was descended from an old English family, the names of many of whose members are worthily embalmed in the famous "Dictionary of National Biography." Some of them were knighted and elected to the British Parliament. His great grandfather was a soldier of the Revolution, and his grandfather bore arms in the war of 1812. He was twice married. His first wife was Miss Carrie Perkins of Erie, Pa., who died in 1854; his second Miss Mary A. Williams, daughter of Maj. William Williams of Fort Dodge, to whom he was married in 1859. His widow, two sons and three daughters survive him.

WILLIAM MILLER BEARDSHEAR was born in Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 7, 1850; he died at the State College, at Ames, Iowa, Aug. 5, 1902. Reared on a farm, his education up to the age of fourteen was confined entirely to the district school, with private instruction at home. When he had attained this age, he enlisted in the volunteer army then engaged in the war for the preservation of the Union. Although under the legal age he had grown so large and lusty that he was accepted as a recruit. His service was in the Army of the Cumberland. Returning from the army he determined, like many another soldier boy, to acquire an education, becoming a student at Otterbein University, Ohio, from which he graduated in 1876. It was his intention to enter the ministry, and he became pastor of the United Brethren church at Arcanum, Ohio. He afterwards attended Yale Theological Seminary two years. Upon leaving the school he became pastor of the church at Dayton, Ohio, but in 1881 accepted the presidency of Western College in Toledo, Iowa. This was a formidable undertaking for a man of thirty, whose experience in educational matters had simply been that of a student, but he entered upon the task with energy and determination, succeeding admirably up to the time the college was destroyed by fire. His efforts to reestablish the school were highly successful, so that when he left in '89 it had entered upon a career of prosperity from which it has had little if any interruption since that time. He came to Des Moines the same year and accepted the superintendency of the West District city schools. During his superintendency the fine high school building of the district was erected. He was also instrumental in obtaining the national flag for every school house under his charge. In 1891 Dr. Beardshear was elected president of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames. Here, too, a great work had to be done, but Dr. Beardshear proved himself equal to every requirement, and the great school was in the full tide of prosperity at the time of his lamented death. Few indeed are the men who are so superbly equipped for such a great undertaking. Physically large, he was so likewise morally and mentally. In 1894 Dr. Beardshear was president of the Iowa State Teachers' Association. More recently he was chosen one of the directors of the National Educational Association, and last year elected to the presidency of that body. He was in Minneapolis expecting to preside at the annual meeting of the association when he was attacked by the illness which soon terminated his useful career. The remains were laid to rest in the college cemetery near those of the other great president, Dr. A. S. Welch, and Mrs. Margaret Stanton, who was long one of the college faculty. Henry Sabin, the distinguished Iowa educator, said of Dr. Beardshear: "He was more than a teacher; more than a college president; more than a successful man of affairs. His heart reached out for all beautiful things. * * * Even the dreary college catalog, usually redolent only of hard names and dry courses of study, under his touch became almost a poem; fitted for the desk of him who loves beautiful quotation, or appreciates a rare gem from the pen of a great thinker. He had the grace of the ready writer and was a power on the platform. The educational world will be lonesome without him." Dr.

Beardshear leaves a widow (Josephine Mundhenk) and five children: Hazel, Mrs. L. M. Chambers, Denver, Col.; Meta, William, Charles and Constance.

JAMES ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON was born at Columbia, Adair county, Ky., Feb. 8, 1829; he died at Jamestown, R. I., Sept. 7, 1902. He was educated at Knox college, Ill., where he was known as an industrious student and accurate scholar. He settled in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1855, entering upon the practice of the law. A leading and active democrat, who bore a prominent part in the politics of those days, he always enjoyed great personal popularity with the opposition. He was a prominent actor in the finally successful effort to remove the State capital from Iowa City to Des Moines, and it was a cherished hope of the last two years of his life to tell the story of that movement from his own standpoint in the pages of this magazine. In fact, he had set a time to come to Des Moines for the purpose of securing certain data for his article, but his failing health prevented his attempting the journey. Such a narrative from his pen would have possessed distinct historical value, for no other man has told the story as he could have done. He was commissioned first lieutenant and adjutant of the 4th Iowa Infantry, Aug. 8, 1861. The ladies of Des Moines presented him a beautiful flag when he left to join his command. His career in the army was a brilliant one. He was a favorite with such commanders as Grant, Sherman, Dodge and Logan, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. At the close of the war he received the brevet of major-general, and congress awarded him a medal for distinguished gallantry. He fought at Pea Ridge, Chickasaw Bayou, Arkansas Post, Jackson, Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Ringgold, and in many lesser affairs. "Where is Jim Williamson?" asked an Iowa visitor at Sherman's camp. Just then a cannon boomed out in front. "Oh," replied the great general, pointing in the direction whence came the report, "he is pounding away at 'em as usual, over yonder." Coming home from the war he engaged in active business and public life for some years. President Grant appointed him Commissioner of the General Land Office. Afterwards he was president of the Atlantic & Pacific R. R., and was also connected with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road for some years. He was a member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, the Army and Navy Club, and the Union League Club of New York City. His remains were brought to Washington, D. C., and interred in the Rock Creek cemetery. The honorary pall bearers were Gen. G. M. Dodge, Hon. Frank W. Palmer, Hon. M. D. O'Connell, Gen. A. E. Bates, Capt. Charles Train, Mr. Colgate Hoyt and Mr. G. N. Whitney. Gen. Williamson leaves a widow and four daughters by his first wife. They are Miss Haidee Williamson, Mrs. Commander W. B. Bailey, Mrs. George R. Stearns of Augusta, Ga., and Mrs. Roy Jones of Santa Monica, Cal. The town of Corinne, Utah, was named in honor of another daughter, Mrs. Tripp, now deceased. He was a model citizen, a brave soldier, a competent and faithful public officer, a genial, excellent gentleman. His sword, commissions, and other personal belongings are among the most valued treasures in the Historical Department at Des Moines.

MRS. CHARLOTTE R. WHITE, daughter of James and Nancy Pilkington, was born at Taunton, Mass., March 1, 1829; she died at Washington, D. C., July 16, 1902. She and Dr. Charles A. White were married at her old home on Sept. 28, 1848, and the following year they removed to Burlington, Iowa, where his home had been since his boyhood. They resided there until 1864 when they removed to Iowa City, where Dr. White began his official scientific career as state geologist of Iowa and Professor of Natural history in the Iowa State University. In 1873 he accepted a similar

chair in Bowdoin College, Maine, but resigned and removed to Washington, D. C., in 1875, where he has performed the greater part of his scientific life-work. Although they there made a settled home they always regarded themselves as Iowans, and greatly delighted to meet their Iowa friends where their later lot had been cast. Mrs. White was a woman of unusually clear and practical intelligence, a devoted Christian of unwavering faith from her girlhood; active in church and charitable work. She was long a member of the relief committee of the Associated Charities of Washington, showing rare judgment and efficiency in the work, and relinquishing it only because of failing strength. But her chief characteristic was shown in the quiet and judicious performance of domestic duties and her faithful devotion to her family and friends. Dr. and Mrs. White celebrated their golden wedding nearly four years before her death. A few years earlier they made together an extended foreign tour, embracing Egypt and the Holy Land with special reference to her bible studies. Eight children were born to them, all in Iowa, six of whom survive her, namely, Dr. James A. White of Portland, Oregon; Charles E. White of Madison, Wis.; Herbert C. White of Beatrice, Neb.; Dr. Leonard A. White of Washington; Gertrude, wife of Herbert J. Browne of Washington, and Marian White, a teacher in the Washington high school. This intelligent and gifted family are remembered in great kindness by the old residents of Burlington and Iowa City.

GEORGE CARTER TICHENOR was born in Shelbyville, Ky., Oct. 8, 1838; he died in New York City, July 12, 1902. Mr. Tichenor settled in Des Moines shortly before the civil war, entering quite actively into politics as a democrat. In the second year of the war he was appointed adjutant of the 39th Iowa Infantry and went to the front. He was, however, soon given an appointment on the staff of Gen. G. M. Dodge, with whom he continued throughout the war. In 1865 President Lincoln promoted him to major and A. D. C. He was mustered out of the service with the brevet rank of colonel. During the war his bravery, activity, ready resources and wonderful adaptation to the military service, made him an especial favorite with Gen. G. M. Dodge. He returned to Des Moines at the close of the war, and a couple of years later was appointed postmaster of the capital city. Four years later he was reappointed, but retired shortly afterward to be succeeded by James S. Clarkson. He went over to Chicago in 1873, where he engaged in business, but the failure of a bank in 1878 left him penniless. It was then that he entered the broad arena of politics and national usefulness. President Hayes appointed him to a special agency in the treasury department, after which he was connected with that branch of the government to the end of his life. He was an influential and most earnest supporter of John Sherman for the presidency. Later he was appointed a member of the U. S. board of general appraisers under the treasury department, with headquarters in New York city. One of his associates was Col. Charles H. Ham, formerly one of the widely known leader-writers on *The Chicago Tribune* and *Inter Ocean*. At one time he was assistant secretary of the treasury. Mr. James S. Clarkson and Major William H. Fleming paid high tributes to the memory of this Iowa man whose life was full of activity and usefulness.

ISAAC COOPER was born at Cooperstown, N. Y., February 18, 1813; he died at Lake Tahoe, Cal., August 13, 1902. This well-known pioneer of Des Moines and Polk county was a nephew of James Fenimore Cooper, the illustrious American novelist. He remained at home until 1845, when he came to Iowa, settling on a claim on Four Mile Creek near Des Moines. The country was then new, still occupied by the Indians, and troops were stationed at the junction of the Des Moines river with "the Raccoon

Fork". Mr. Cooper at once became most active and enterprising in the work of opening up the new settlement. It is recorded that he was the proprietor of the first threshing machine, and a partner in the first reaper, that were brought to this section of central Iowa. He was also one of the leading contractors and builders of those early years—a useful, public spirited citizen, who became a large factor in founding the capital city. Aside from these characteristics, he was personally popular, enjoying the esteem and confidence of the early settlers. He removed to California some years ago, where he resided up to the time of his death. He is survived by three children—Mrs. F. M. Hubbell and Mrs. W. H. Ginn of Des Moines, Iowa, and Mr. Fenimore Cooper of Oleta, California. Mr. Cooper's remains were brought to Des Moines for interment with the other members of his family. His funeral was largely attended by the surviving early settlers of Polk county.

MRS. L. J. CHURCH was born in Richland county, Ohio, Oct. 27, 1828; she died at Blaine, in the State of Washington, Aug. 19, 1902. She was one of the well known early settlers of Hamilton county, Iowa, and was a woman of much force of character and great amiability, an especial favorite with the pioneers. She was married to the late William L. Church some time prior to 1855. They came to Springfield (now Jackson), Minn., in 1856, a few months prior to the Indian raid upon the settlements at Spirit and Okoboji Lakes. After that affair the Indians went to Springfield where they besieged the few settlers who had assembled in the house of J. B. Thomas for defense. A statement of that affair, with the attempted flight of the settlers towards the south, was given in *THE ANNALS* for October, 1898, as stated by Mrs. Church. She fired at one of the Indians, who was seen to fall, and there can be little doubt that she killed him. The Indians then withdrew and the little band of white people started south at midnight with only an ox team. Their march was one of excessive toil and exposure and they could hardly have survived the inclement weather had they not been met the next day by the rescue party from the Spirit Lake Expedition. The flight of these refugees was one of the most thrilling episodes of that affair. (See *ANNALS OF IOWA*, 3d series, Vol. III, pp. 546-8.)

LEVI L. HOAG was born in Greene county, N. Y., April 10, 1830; he died at West Vienna, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1901. He removed to Iowa in March, 1855, residing in Scott and Cedar counties until the beginning of the war of the Rebellion. He enlisted in Company C of the Twenty-fourth Iowa Volunteers, and became the color bearer of the regiment. He began to keep a brief journal of the movements and doings of the regiment from the day it left camp at Muscatine for the seat of war. He made an entry in his diary *every day* until the regiment was mustered out of service at the close of the war. Every camp, march, skirmish, and battle is therein recorded. He carried the flag in every one of its twenty battles, and strangely escaped the flying bullets. He was always on duty and was esteemed one of the best and bravest soldiers of that famous command. He was in all respects a fine type of the Iowa soldiers who won imperishable renown for our State. His war diary has been of inestimable service to the historians of the Twenty-fourth and other regiments of the brigade, in fixing dates; and has been present as a valuable reference at some of the regimental re-unions. We understand that this rare manuscript will come to the Iowa Historical Department at no distant day.

JOHN WHITTEN was born at Business Corner, Van Buren county, Iowa, Aug. 4, 1842; he died at Farmington, Iowa, Sept. 7, 1902. He remained at home with his parents until the breaking out of the civil war, when he en-

listed in company H, 15th Iowa Infantry. Not long after his muster into the service he was detailed as one of the color guard. He succeeded the color bearer who was shot down at the battle of Missionary Ridge, where his whole regiment was captured. With his comrades he was marched to Andersonville prison, where he suffered untold tortures from starvation, vermin, scurvy, and filth. After his liberation he was discharged, having been in the army four years and seven months. He served his county two terms as auditor, and was deputy state treasurer of Iowa for three terms, also holding many other positions of honor and trust, in all of which he proved himself competent and thoroughly trustworthy. His funeral took place at Farmington, Iowa, Sept. 8. His remains were borne to the cemetery by the members of the G. A. R., who buried him with the honors of the order.

JOHN WILLIAMSON was born at Penrith, England, Dec. 25, 1822; he died at Fairfield, Iowa, July 24, 1902. He learned the trade of a weaver in the old country, and migrated to America in 1851. He and his wife worked in the cotton mills of New England the first four years after their arrival in the United States. In 1855 they came to Iowa, settling near the city of Fairfield. Mr. Williamson was an eloquent speaker, and became prominent and influential in the politics of that region. He served in the 19th General Assembly as a member of the house, and for a number of years was a member of the board of supervisors of his county. He is spoken of as a "warm-hearted, impulsive man, generous and honest." He enjoyed the high esteem of a wide circle of friends in Jefferson and adjoining counties.

BENJAMIN GREENE was born in Otsego county, N. Y., March 4, 1819; he died in Adel, Iowa, June 18, 1902. At the age of 18 Mr. Greene went to Belvidere, Ill., and spent four years with a brother. He returned to New York, studied law and taught school until 1846. Early in 1849 he arrived in Adel, having stopped for a time at Keokuk where he taught school. He was among the first settlers of Dallas county, and has been identified with its development and progress. He was a man of marked business ability and integrity and had filled various local offices in town and county. In early days he was school fund commissioner, and for several years was chairman of the board of supervisors. He was a member of the house of representatives in the 4th and 6th general assemblies.

FRANK TALCOTT PIPER was born in Maquoketa, Jackson county, Iowa, July 19, 1856; he died in Los Angeles, Cal., April 20, 1902. When a child his parents removed to Green Springs, Ohio, but in 1868 the family returned to Iowa, locating in Buena Vista county. In 1870 he began newspaper work and was successively employed on *The Newell Times*, *Le Mars Sentinel* and *Cherokee Times* and *Leader*. In 1873 he located at Sheldon where he afterward published *The Mail and Times*. Mr. Piper was postmaster of Sheldon during President Harrison's administration. In 1895 he became a candidate for senator in the 49th district, but was defeated. He was mayor of Sheldon from 1898 to 1900.

JAMES RANEY, aged 83 years, died at his home in Belle Plaine, Iowa, Aug. 19, 1902. During the civil war he was colonel of the Fifteenth Illinois Infantry, and was brevetted brigadier-general at the time of his muster-out. For some years after he came to Iowa he resided in Adair county, where he served as county clerk eight or ten years, besides filling several other official stations. From that time forward he was engaged in merchandising in Belle Plaine up to the time of his death.

WILLIAM I. TIZZARD was born in Burlington, Iowa, about the year 1842; he died there June 9, 1902. He was the son of William Tizzard who was many years the proprietor of *The Gazette*. At the outbreak of the civil war young Tizzard enlisted in the 1st Iowa Infantry as a drummer boy. The following year he enlisted in company G, 25th Iowa and was appointed second lieutenant. He made a brilliant record, and passed through many of the severest battles, coming out without a scratch. His exposures, however, and the hard service, left their effects upon him which only ceased with his life. The papers of that city spoke in the highest terms of this veteran of the civil war.

LESLIE B. MATTOON was born in the state of New York, April 29, 1847; he died at Kenmare, N. D., June 10, 1902, where he had gone to look after his mining interests. At the age of 17 he enlisted in the Union army as a member of Battery C, N. Y. First Light Artillery, and participated in many battles. He chose the medical profession and in 1875 graduated from a medical college in Chicago. The same year he located in Elgin, Iowa, which had since been his home. He served as State senator from the Allamakee-Fayette district, in the 22d, 23d, 24th and 25th general assemblies. During late years he devoted much of his time to his large business interests.

HUGH LANGAN was born in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1853; he died in Clinton, Iowa, June 10, 1902. When a child his parents came to America and settled in Pennsylvania; in 1856 they came to Iowa and located in Clinton county. Mr. Langan settled in Vail, Crawford county, about thirty years ago, but has since resided for a number of years in South Dakota where he served as a member of the house of representatives in the 16th general assembly. Some years ago he returned to Iowa. He was prominent in politics, and served as representative from Crawford county in the 29th general assembly.

NOAH BROCKWAY BACON was born in Westmoreland, N. Y., Dec. 19, 1799; he died in Des Moines, May 29, 1902, at the age of 102 years. His father served in the Revolutionary war for a period of seven years. In early life Mr. Bacon operated a stage line in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania. In 1843 he removed to Wisconsin where he engaged in farming. Since 1880 Mr. Bacon had resided in Iowa. In Mr. Bacon's boyhood a large part of the U. S. was a wilderness; cooking stoves, sewing machines, railroads and steamboats were unknown. Only one U. S. president had served before his birth.

DAMON N. SPRAGUE of Wapello, was born at Cooperstown, N. Y., March 31, 1832; he died at Richland Springs, N. Y., August 12, 1902. Mr. Sprague had been a practicing lawyer in southeastern Iowa ever since 1855. He represented the counties of Des Moines and Louisa in the House of Representatives of the seventh general assembly. In 1870 he was chosen district attorney of the Burlington judicial district, serving in that capacity a full term of four years. He was a lawyer of high repute, and well esteemed by all who knew him. His remains were interred at Wapello.

FRANCIS VARGA was born in Hungary Aug. 8, 1817; he died at Leon, Iowa, April 5, 1902. He was judge advocate general in Louis Kossuth's provisional government during the revolution in 1848. He came to Decatur county, Iowa, in 1858, where he resided until his death. We have received a sketch of the life of this distinguished patriot which we hope to present in *THE ANNALS* hereafter.

ERRATA.—The date of the death of Lt. Col. James A. Sawyers is given on page 491 as "the 7th day of March, 1898." It should read March 27th.

Historical Department of Iowa.

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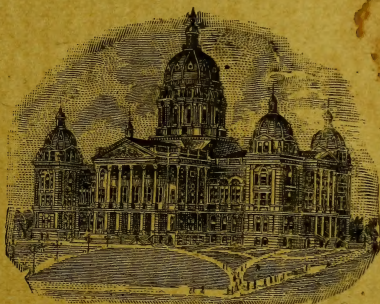
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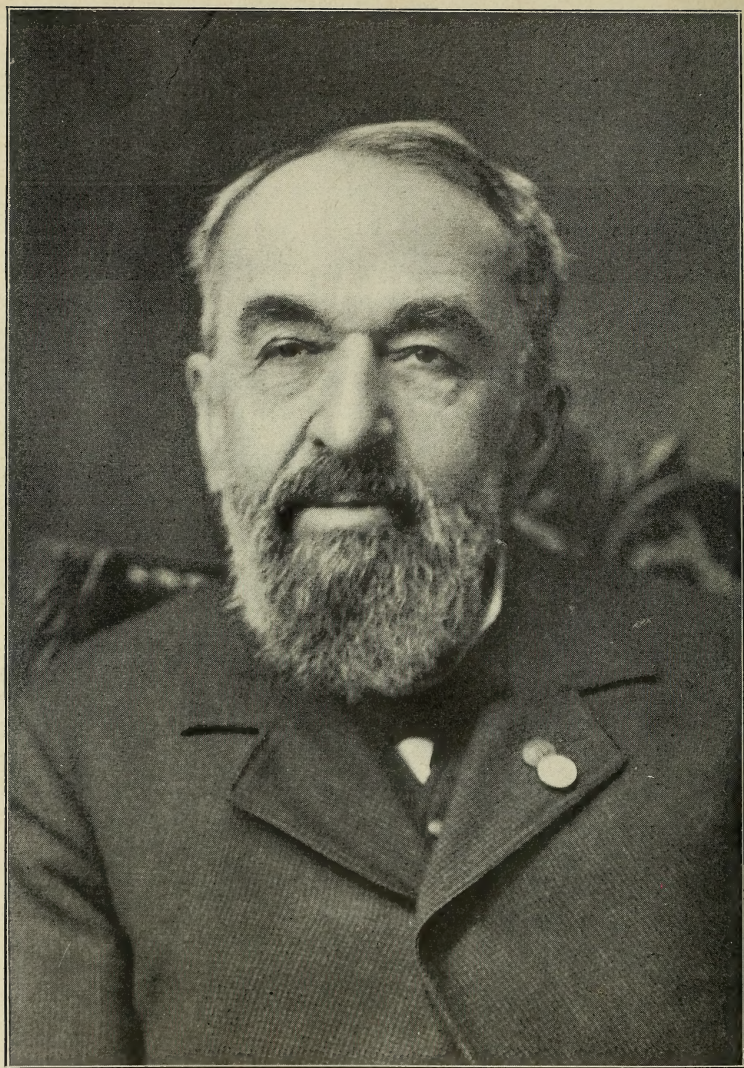
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Respectfully
L. S. Coffin

HON. LORENZO S. COFFIN.

Chaplain Thirty-second Iowa Infantry, 1862-63; Railroad Commissioner, 1883-88;
author of the Iowa law and the law of Congress providing for safety appliances
on the railroads; founder of "Hope Hall, No. 3," near Fort Dodge, Iowa,
a place of refuge for convicts released from our penitentiaries.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

VOL. V, No. 8.

DES MOINES, IOWA, JANUARY, 1903.

3D SERIES.

SAFETY APPLIANCES ON THE RAILROADS.*

BY HON. L. S. COFFIN.

During the two years previous to my appointment as a member of the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, I had become quite interested in railroad men. In the extension of the Fort Dodge and Des Moines line to Ruthven, I was somewhat officially connected with the matter of securing the right of way, and I also had the selling of the lands that fell to the road. As a matter of course, I was often back and forth over the line, becoming well acquainted with the trainmen. It was in the year 1883 that I was appointed one of the Commissioners, and my duties led to a great deal of traveling over the State roads, where I was always on very friendly terms with the crews, learning much of their life and exposure. Much of my traveling was on freight trains, from choice, in order to learn what these men had to meet with. The Commissioner law required that in case of a serious accident on any of our roads, the Commission should carefully investigate the matter and report their findings to the Governor. It had not been the custom, nor the belief of the Commission that it was required of it, to investigate the maiming or the killing of a trainman. These cases were of such every day occurrence, it was taken as a matter of course that the men must of necessity be maimed and killed. In the annual report of the Commission previous to my going upon the Board, this was the idea set forth in speaking of

*If there seems to be any discrepancy in dates or names it must be attributed to failing memory, as I have written from memory alone.

L. S. C.

the fearful loss of life and limb to men in train service. After giving the number of fatal and serious accidents to railroad men on the roads of our own State, the report in substance says: "We regret exceedingly to be compelled to report year after year such great loss of life and so many terrible and painful accidents to these men, but we see no way to prevent it, and we suppose it is one of the inevitable conditions of a railroad man's life."

After being on this Board a year or more, and having familiarized myself with its duties and its opportunities to be of use to our people, I began to feel that I was not doing my duty as a sworn officer of the State, if I did not try in some way to lessen the great loss of life, and the suffering sustained by these railroad men, who were our fellow citizens, and whom I was equally sworn to serve. Their lives were just as dear to them and to their families as those of the passengers. If our law required us to investigate the maiming and killing of the passengers, who might or might not be citizens of Iowa, why should it not be our duty to look after the trainmen, who were citizens, and in a large sense, servants of the State—as much so as the members of the Railroad Commission? Our law required that every railroad company in Iowa should report promptly every accident, fatal or otherwise, to our State Railroad Commission. I soon became intensely interested in this matter, and I found myself going here and there to all parts of the State to investigate accidents to these railroad men. I learned that a great majority of the accidents came from coupling cars, but more of the fatal accidents from falling off from the trains. Then, I said to myself, "Why not have self-couplers, that will couple automatically when the cars are pushed together, and not require the men to go between the cars; and why not have air-brakes on freight as well as on passenger cars, under the control of the engineer, as on the passenger trains? We do not see men on top of the passenger cars setting up the brakes." It did seem to me that this could be done, and the

more I thought of it, and the more I investigated, the more satisfied I became that it was the very thing to do, and I said to myself, "It can and shall be done, if the public sentiment will stand by me in the matter."

My first work was to arouse the people to this awful wrong, the butchering of these faithful men who were serving the public at such a fearful risk to life and limb. To this end I used the public press and platform from one end of the country to the other. I prepared a letter, showing the terrible loss of life, and the maiming of these men, and sent it to every religious and family paper in the nation, and with it a personal letter to the editor, begging him either to give it room, or make it the subject of an editorial. I took one day over two thousand of these letters to our postoffice. I attended the National Conventions of Master Car Builders, a very important class of railroad officials, who meet annually to discuss all matters that go to the make-up of cars. I was very kindly received, and invited to address them on the subject of automatic couplers and power-brakes on freight cars. I also met with the Railroad Master Mechanics, where I was accorded a most kind reception. I met with these men in their annual conventions for five or six years, and found an increasing interest every year. In their convention of 1885, a joint committee was created, from the Master Car Builders' and Master Mechanics' Associations for the purpose of testing power-brakes on long freight trains. This committee was instructed to advertise to the world that any man who had invented a train-brake and wanted to sell the same to the railroads, might fit up a train of fifty freight cars with his appliance, and bring the train to Burlington, Iowa, where its merits would be tested by this committee of experts. If the invention stood the test, and should be found practical, the Master Car Builders would so report to the railroad companies, recommending the purchase of the invention. It was also stated that no railroad company would buy any brake that was not first

tested by this committee of expert officials, as the organization appointing it represented practically all the railroads of the United States and Canada. To this test all the Railroad Commissioners of the different states were invited. At that time, however, there were but few states that had railroad commissioner laws. These tests lasted some three weeks, and at the conclusion the committee had to report to their conventions (which convened that year in Minneapolis), that there was not a brake in existence that was safe and practical for a train of fifty cars. The brakes used on passenger trains would do very well for short trains of fifteen to twenty-five or thirty cars, but when applied to long trains of fifty or more cars, such as the larger engines coming into use could draw, the shocks when the brakes were applied in emergency cases would demolish the cars in the rear end of the train and play havoc with the freight inside.

There were but few of the Commissioners who came to witness these tests, and fewer still who stayed after they saw one test. It was very dangerous work. After the first two days, I was the only Commissioner left. It was a very dangerous place to be in, yet there was so much at stake that I felt that I must know all about it, so that I could talk intelligently on the matter as occasion might require. In my future work before legislative and congressional committees, I found the knowledge thus knocked into me of great service. I may be pardoned if I say right here, that in all my public addresses, before congressional committees, with old and experienced railroad men, presidents and general managers by the dozen to oppose, I was never once picked up for making a wrong statement. All seemed willing to admit that I knew what I was talking about. Mr. Arthur Mellen Wellington, one of the leading civil engineers of the nation, and then editor of *The Engineering News* of New York, was chosen umpire in these brake tests. In writing of them afterwards for his journal, he made this statement: "Several of the Railroad Commissioners were present the first two days

but they were all scared away except Commissioner Coffin of Iowa, who stayed through the entire tests of three weeks of each year, and always rode in the most dangerous part of the train in order that he might become conversant with every particular. As a result he knows as much about power-brakes and automatic couplers as the average general manager of our railroads. In fact, as I look back now upon those scenes and dangers I wonder that all came out alive. As it was, several of us were badly hurt for the time being."

These tests, as I have stated, were continued for three weeks in the summer of 1886, and when this committee of experts reported the utter failure of finding a practical brake, suitable and safe for long freight trains, the conventions continued the same committee, with instructions to advertise again, and repeat the tests in 1887. This was done, and I think there were six fifty-car trains brought that year, with about the same result as in '86.

If I repeat here a conversation I happened to overhear, it may throw a side-light on the way the railroad companies were feeling on this important question. While, perhaps, it savors a little of egotism, I may still be permitted to give it. Mr. Godfrey H. Rhodes, the master of motive power, and master car-builder for the Burlington road, was the chairman of this committee of experts. He is now Assistant General Superintendent of the lines west of the Missouri river. While conducting the tests he was asked by a prominent man why it was that the railroads were at such an expense in testing these brakes. Mr. Rhodes replied, "It is only a question of a short time when the public will demand that we equip all our cars with the best possible safety appliances, such as brakes and automatic couplers, for men like Mr. Coffin, one of the Commissioners of this State, are constantly writing and speaking before the public and arousing a sentiment that will result in a law making us do this work, and we want to know what it will be safe to buy." That remark, though not intended for my ears, shot a mighty ray of hope

into my heart, and I said to myself, "Well, then, I will keep on in the work of agitation until the sentiment is crystalized into law." Yet it was with sad and disheartened feelings that I listened to the report of this committee to their conventions which met this year at Old Point Comfort, Va. Still there seemed to be a ray of hope from one very important circumstance. Mr. George Westinghouse, the distinguished inventor of the air-brake in use on most of the railroads in both this and in foreign lands, came in his own private car to this second test in 1887. His general manager and leading men were there both years, with his brake on a fifty-car train, and while it was far ahead of all others, it was not up to the standard required by the committee. But Mr. Westinghouse intimated to the committee that the thing would yet be accomplished. He returned to Pittsburg, and wealthy man as he was, took off his coat and went to work in one of his great shops. He arranged fifty brakes in the shop, and experimented and worked on them for some three months. In September of that year I received an invitation to go to Burlington to witness the work of the "quick-acting brake" on a fifty-car train. I needed no second invitation but proceeded immediately to Burlington. The long hoped-for thing was accomplished. That immense train could be hurled down the steep grade into Burlington at the rate of forty miles an hour, and at a given signal, the brakes applied and the train brought to a standstill inside of 500 feet with scarcely a jar and not a man on top of the cars. "Eureka! Eureka!" I exclaimed, and actually wept for joy. "The thing can now be done!" I had gone through almost the same experience in the tests of couplers, for in witnessing them I felt just as sure that there was an automatic coupler that could take the place of the old man-killer link-and-pin-coupler, as I was sure that we now had a power-brake. I will not stop here to tell of the experimental trips with freight trains that I took with railroad officials across the State while testing close and loose couplers to ascertain whether an

engine would haul as many cars with the close as with the loose ones, like the old link-and-pin. It was proved to a demonstration that it would, and I was now ready to go to work for proper legislation. My first movement was to get a law through the Iowa legislature.

In the winter of 1889-90, I drafted the first bill that was ever enacted by our legislature for this purpose. I drew that bill with great care. I believe I was a full month at work upon it. I submitted every section as I drew it to one or more of the Judges of our Supreme Court, in order to be sure of its constitutionality, and when I finished it, I asked the representative from Hamilton county, Mr. Chase, to introduce it in the House,* which body passed it with only seven votes against it. Later, in the Senate, there was not a single opposition vote. The bill was at once approved by Governor Horace Boies, and I have the pen with which he signed it. The Nebraska legislature copied the bill, and I believe, passed it word for word. In the spring of 1888 the Interstate Commerce Commission, which had just come into being, invited all the State Commissioners to a conference at Washington, in order to get all possible information from their experience. Although my term of office had expired, and for some good reason I was not reappointed, I was invited to attend this conference. I there made a speech, at the request of the Conference, which started the ball a-rolling at a great rate. It is my opinion that there were at that time only seven or eight states which had a Commissioner law. There was not a single Commissioner who was not in a measure opposed to the legislation I had in view. They did not believe that the maiming and killing was as great as I had represented it. What had occurred in Iowa I knew to a dead certainty, for I had the report of the railroads themselves, but as to the nation, I had to get at the losses as best I could through estimates. There were no reliable statistics

*Journal of the Iowa House of Representatives, March 1, 1890, pp. 123, 326-7-8. Senate Journal, April 2, 1890, p. 492.

outside of Iowa. I took the number injured and killed in this state as a basis for these estimates. Poor's Manual gave me the number of miles of our railroads, together with the number in the country, and so, by the "rule of three," I figured the awful total of the whole, but this was so terribly great that I never dared to give out the actual figures. One day, however, in talking with a very intelligent railroad official, he said, "Mr. Coffin, your basis of calculation is wrong. You should not figure on the number of miles, but on the number of engines." I saw this in a moment, for on most of the roads, and especially in the east, there would be ten trains running to one in Iowa. Poor's Manual also gave me the number of engines in the nation, and when I took this for a basis I was thunderstruck at the fearful aggregate. I was more afraid than ever to give out the full figures.

I can hardly describe the scene in the conference room in Washington as I concluded my remarks. The Commissioners gathered around me, making loud protests and assuring me that I must be wrong. The Commissioners from Kentucky especially were very emphatic, protesting against allowing such figures to go out to the public. Even the Commissioners from Massachusetts seemed to be scandalized that such words and figures should go out from that body. It will be remembered that Massachusetts was the first state in the Union to adopt the Commissioner system. Her representatives at the conference had the honor of being considered the most efficient and able Board then in existence. Our own State and others had followed the precedent which she had inaugurated at the start. "But there," I said, "are the figures, and to me they are cold and awful facts, but I hope that when you meet here again in a year from now you will be able to show that I am wrong." I did meet with them the following year and here is what the Kentucky Commissioners' report, which was issued just before the meeting, says in substance: "We were horrified at the remarks of the gentleman from Iowa as to the number of casualties to railroad

employees as shown by the Iowa statistics and calculations from them, and we could not believe that it was possible they were true; so, on our return to our office from Washington we issued circulars to the roads in our state requesting that they would report to our Board the accidents to employees for that year, and we find to our great amazement and sorrow, that the basis of the Iowa calculation is far too low, for the casualties to trainmen in this state are larger than those shown by the Iowa reports."

At this conference a resolution was adopted favoring the enactment of a law by Congress requiring safety appliances on the cars. I had already prepared a bill myself, which Col. D. B. Henderson of Iowa introduced in the House, and Hon. William B. Allison in the Senate. The long fight now began. President Harrison in his message to Congress December, 1883, made a grand plea for some legislation for the safety of railroad men, and in that plea used in substance these remarkable words: "It is a disgrace to our civilization that men in honorable employment for a livelihood should be subjected to greater danger to life and limb than soldiers in time of actual war." He urged Congress to take some wise action on the matter. Not long after that first conference in Washington, the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the illustrious Judge Thomas M. Cooley of Michigan, wrote me, requesting all the facts and statistics that I had accumulated, with such other information as I had acquired, for the use of the Commission. Some two years afterwards I understood that on General Harrison's request for information as to the casualties to railroad men, these statistics were sent to him and became the basis of his remarks on that subject. These facts were furnished him by the Secretary of the Commission without any reference to the author. It might be well to note this fact as it has a bearing on a very important time in the history of this safety appliance legislation further on. I was in Washington during both sessions of the Fifty-first Congress, the first Con-

gress of the Harrison administration, and often before committees. The House Committee on Railroads and Canals at first decided to report the bill for passage by an almost unanimous vote, though not in a formal meeting of the committee, for it was impossible to get them together. This was accomplished, however, by getting the clerk of the committee to go to each member and obtain his written consent that the chairman report the bill back to the House recommending its passage. It was now so near the close of that Congress that I knew well enough there was no hope of getting it through the Senate if it passed the House; but I was very anxious to have it taken up and passed by the House, as the prestige of this success would be a great help to me in the next Congress. The chairman of the committee, Mr. H. C. McCormick, of Pennsylvania, stood on his feet directly in front of Speaker Reed, with that bill in his hand, all the night long, but failed to obtain recognition. I had gone personally to Mr. Reed, in the brief recess between the day and night sessions, and begged him to recognize Mr. McCormick, telling him that I had "counted noses" of the members of the House, and was sure that it would go through without a call of the House on a yea and nay vote, and would not take over five minutes. He would give me no satisfaction, only remarking that there was a great deal to do that night, but that he would see. He was, however, all along opposed to the bill, and did not vote for it two years later when it was finally passed by the House, and when, too, we needed every vote that we could command, as we shall see later on.

In the Senate the bill was referred to Senator Cullom's committee on Interstate Commerce. Senator Allison very kindly took me before the committee and introduced me, briefly speaking of my work and standing in Iowa, and of the importance of the measure. He was a strong, earnest friend of the measure from first to last. I was before that committee only a few times during the session, as my advisers,

who were favorable to the measure, thought it better to first get the bill through the House. But, as already intimated, there was no action in either body during that session. So, during the interim before the meeting of the next Congress, I devoted my time to arousing public sentiment in favor of some legislation for the safety of these railroad men. To this end I used the press, platform and pulpit. Wherever there were great official gatherings of the different denominations and religious bodies, I would try to get a hearing, which was never refused me except in a single instance, and then only because of a misapprehension of the object of my mission. I also went before such legislatures as were in session, and persuaded them to memorialize Congress in favor of some action in this direction. This I found had a very good effect. I went to the International Conventions of the Railroad Brotherhoods, which passed strong resolutions in favor of a law for the safety of their members. I afterwards found this action very helpful in my work.

When the next Congress met (Fifty-second, first session) Mr. Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, was elected Speaker of the House. I had gone over my bills very carefully, and made them as nearly perfect as possible. And I may be permitted to say that as far as I know, no question has ever been raised as to the constitutionality of any of the points involved, thanks to my friends, the Judges of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and more especially to Judge Joseph R. Reed, of Council Bluffs, who was then on the bench. Senator Allison and Col. J. D. B. Henderson again introduced the bill in their respective Houses. In the House the bill was this time referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, with Mr. George P. Wise, of Virginia, as its chairman. This was a very large and able committee, and before it we had several hearings. A large number of the highest railroad officials, presidents, general managers and master mechanics attending, all of whom were opposed to the passage of the measure. Nearly or quite all the southern roads were very bitterly hos-

tile to it, openly asserting that they would defeat the bill if it cost them thousands of dollars to do it. While most of these gentlemen admitted that automatic couplers were desirable, and they must come into use as fast as they were able to procure them, still they were opposed to any legislation on the subject. This also was the attitude of most of the leading roads of the north. There were, however, some very signal exceptions to this policy of delay. The Vanderbilt roads never opposed me in the least, but on the other hand privately encouraged me to keep at the work as they felt it was a measure that all of the roads in the end would adopt. Here is a pertinent illustration of the way these corporations feel about any legislation whenever legislation will result in good to themselves. That great railroad man, Mr. Roberts, the long-time President of the Pennsylvania system, came before Senator Cullom's committee. He said that the Pennsylvania road believed in all the provisions of this bill, and were putting on these automatic couplers and brakes as rapidly as possible. He confidently stated that his Company "would get there" before the dates that Mr. Coffin had fixed in his bill. But he did not want any legislation on the matter. "We railroad men," he said, "know what we want and what we ought to have for the safety of our men as well and much better than anybody else. We shall provide these things just as fast as we are convinced that we need them, and they are to be had, and so, gentlemen, do not burden us down with this proposed legislation." So convincing was his talk that Senator Harris, of Tennessee, who was a member of the committee, remarked, "Well, I have heard enough and am satisfied that the railroad people know what they want." On that he got up from the table around which the committee were sitting, and took his hat to leave the room, when Senator Cullom asked him if he had not better hear the other side before he made up his mind. "No," said he, "I have heard enough. I guess that these railroad men of long experience know what they are about, and what they

want." And yet this man was the honored president *pro tem* of the United States Senate! And now let me state the sequel to Mr. Roberts' assertion that his "road would get there before the date fixed in the bill."

At a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission five years after the bill became a law, for an extension of time to meet its requirements, the officials of this same great and rich road pleaded for five more years in which to comply with the law! They reported that only about one-half of their cars had been equipped as the law required. Their plea was that they could not do this work on account of hard times. Poverty was at this time their only plea for delay. The first road on the petition for an extension of time was the Chicago & Alton, and that road from 1888 to 1898 was paying its regular 8 per cent dividend, without a single omission. These two cases give us a lesson that should not be forgotten. Right here, too, is another point of much importance which became a great help to me in this last Congress. Many leading roads of the north saw that sooner or later a law would be enacted requiring this humane protection to their men, and had commenced in earnest to get ready for it, adding many of these safety appliances to their cars; but as these roads were obliged to take the unequipped cars from other lines, the work was still dangerous for their men, notwithstanding they had laid out large sums of money for these safety appliances. This resulted in a great injustice to the humane and progressive roads. Publication of these facts became a great advantage in our ultimate success.

After several hearings before the House Interstate Commerce Committee, of which George D. Wise, of Virginia, was chairman, the bill was referred to a sub-committee of three, of which Mr. J. J. O'Neill, of St. Louis, was chairman, and there the bill slept for months. The other two members of the sub-committee were very favorably disposed towards the bill, and were ready at all times to act upon it,

but the chairman would do nothing, and for reasons that he would not explain, though claiming still to be in favor of the bill. This was all finally explained. That fall the Democratic National Convention was held in Chicago, and Mr. O'Neill went to that city and managed to get a resolution adopted by the convention, berating the Republicans for not enacting this same law in the former session of Congress. A resolution favoring this legislation was adopted as a plank in the Democratic platform. When he returned, he and the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission Committee fixed up the bill to suit themselves without consulting me, or even letting me know when the sub-committee or the full committee met. A great many of the members of the House were ready and anxious to vote in favor of the bill, and wanted it reported. I had worked with almost every member of the House, and I knew that the bill would pass with but little opposition if it could be reported back to that body. At last when these men had fixed this bill to suit themselves, it was reported to the full committee, and that committee supposing that it was my bill, at once voted to report it for passage, and it was so reported, and passed the House (July 8, 1892) with very little opposition. It was at once sent over to the Senate. I have to confess that I myself was in blissful ignorance of the changes that Mr. O'Neill and his co-worker had made in the bill, thinking that they were friendly to the measure in its main intents and purpose. I was completely thrown off my guard until one day in the office of the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission I met Mr. O'Neill. He said, "Mr. Coffin there is no need of your staying here any longer. We will now look after the bill, and see that it passes the Senate, and you had better go home. You do not know how to handle these Senators as well as we do, and you may endanger the bill by some indiscretion." Of course I was thunderstruck, and for a time did not know what to say. In fact, I think that I made but little reply, only to give him to understand that I

should stay by to the end, and it will appear that it was well that I did so.

In the Senate the bill was referred to Senator Cullom's Committee on Interstate Commerce, and in due time the Senator called the committee together. In the meantime, he looked over the bill very carefully, and said to me that he was very doubtful about its passing his committee, as it had been changed some from the one I had had before them. Of course, this was enough to make me very anxious. I had secured pledges enough from the Senate to insure its passage, if I could once get it out of the committee with a favorable report. But here I was after four years of hard work liable to have it all come to naught. There were only three weeks more before the Fifty-second Congress would close and there was a great amount of business before it, as is always the case so near its final adjournment. The time for the meeting of the committee came, and Mr. Cullom kindly invited me to step into his private room while it was in session. The session was a very short one. At its close the Senator came into the room and threw the bill down upon the desk where I was writing, saying, "There is your bill. I read it very carefully to the committee. A few words were said on it by one or two, and then some one moved that we report against it, or for an indefinite postponement, and it was so voted. Now," said he, "if you will take the bill and so remodel it as to conform to the one you had presented by Senator Allison, I will call the committee together again, and see what I can do, for I believe that something of this kind should be a law." The mighty weight of that moment I can never tell in words. For an hour I sat there stunned. The first thought was to throw up the sponge and quit, but after a few minutes deliberation, I said, "No. There is yet hope. This is a great humane work and God is behind it, and it must and will go through." I took the bill and went to my room and for two days and nights I worked incessantly upon it, and then handed it to Senator Cullom for criticism. He made

scarcely a change. "Now," said he, "I will call my committee together and see what we can do." After the bill was discussed for some three hours, the committee voted that the chairman might report the bill, recommending its passage, but that they would not agree to support the measure on the floor of the Senate. Then, again, I was happy, for I was well assured that it had friends enough in that body to pass it if once it could come up in the regular order, which was now assured. But after all there was a hard fight for its life. It came up as the regular order of business on a Monday morning (February 6, 1893), and it continued to be the regular order for all that week. It was fought section by section, and finally came to a vote at five o'clock Saturday afternoon (February 11). There were only ten votes against it. Senator I. G. Harris, of Tennessee, and Arthur R. Gorman, of Maryland, were leaders in the opposition. A motion was made in the Senate to strike out all of the House bill and adopt the committee's amendment of the whole bill. I have before me the bill as it passed the Senate. A black line runs through every line of every section of the old House bill, and then follows the bill as it passed the Senate with some minor amendments, precisely as I had drafted it. It went from there to the Speaker's desk in the House. As it was now an amended House bill, it had to take its chances before that body again. The long fight over the bill in the Senate had, of course, called a great deal of public attention to it by this time, and more especially that of the railroads. As stated before, the southern roads were unanimously opposed to it. Somehow it had gone out as the saying of one of the opposition, either in or out of Congress, I am not able to say which—"that niggers were cheaper than automatic couplers and power-brakes,"—but this did not help the cause of the opposition. It was used against the roads with great effect. It was too cold blooded and heartless. The day at last came when the bill was taken from the Speaker's table. On February 21, 1893, it was made a special order, and the

race for its life began. Mr. James D. Richardson, of Tennessee, was the leader of the opposition. Mr. Wise, of Virginia, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, to which the bill had been sent first, though a southern man, took charge of the bill and made a grand fight for it. Of course there was close at hand a powerful lobby which fought the bill inch by inch. That Congressional day, February 21st, was a long one, longer than any other day of the Fifty-second Congress. It lasted until 6:30 the next morning, the 22d. The opposition resorted to filibustering and tried in every possible way to adjourn without action on the bill. Had this occurred the bill would then have gone to the bottom of the calendar, and could not have been reached again during that Congress, which was then only about a week from the final adjournment. But our men stayed with us to the end. So many members had gone that whenever a motion was made to vote or to have a call of the roll there would arise the cry of "No quorum." This was followed by a motion to adjourn, but we always had enough friends on hand to defeat the motion. It was a very stormy night, and the sergeant-at-arms had a hard time, running all over the city of Washington to hunt up members and bring them to the House. About five o'clock in the morning Speaker Crisp came down on to the floor of the House and had a consultation with the leaders of the measure, agreeing to recognize Mr. Wise, who had charge of the bill, on suspension day, if he would consent to an adjournment. On that day, when the rule is suspended, whatever bill is then before the House can at once be put upon its passage with only one filibustering motion allowed. But here comes the rub. It must then be passed by a two-thirds majority. Here now was another crisis. Did we have that two-thirds? I knew that we had a large majority, but it was a little uncertain whether we could command two-thirds of the members. After consultation, however, it was thought safe to risk it, and the House adjourned.

It was then only three days to suspension day. I had taken a violent cold that stormy night, and the nervous strain had nearly worn me out. I was bordering closely on pneumonia. Still there was a great deal to be done before that trial day. The enemies of the bill had induced employees of the different roads in the south to send in telegrams to their members, asking them to oppose the bill, which they, as practical railroad men in actual service, did not want. These telegrams had been read on the floor of the House the day the bill first came up and were having the desired effect. But this delay in the consideration of the bill for three days gave me time to counteract their influence. I had before the committees resolutions adopted by all the Brotherhoods of Railroad Employees, putting themselves unanimously on record in favor of the bill. These Brotherhoods contained over one hundred thousand practical men who were running trains. Besides these, I had handed the committees petitions signed by thousands of the men asking for this legislation. All these and many other facts pertinent to the matter I gathered up and condensed into a small pamphlet which I had printed. When the bill came up for its final disposition, February 27th, I had placed on each member's desk a copy of this pamphlet. It was worth a year's hard work to hear the speech by Mr. Wise in closing the debate on the question of its passage. He was a tall man, with long arms, and quite nervous in his manner. He pointed out that these bogus telegrams all read as though dictated by one master mind, and holding up the little pamphlet high over his head and nervously shaking it, said in stentorian voice, "Here are over a hundred thousand practical railroad men at work on the railroads of this nation exposed at this very moment, as President Harrison has said, 'to greater danger to life and limb than were our soldiers in the civil war.' They are asking you to throw some protection around their occupation, while they are serving in their quasi-public capacity, as no other class of wage-earners ever do. Shall we listen to a

score or more of private telegrams, which show on their face that they are frauds, and ignore the official utterances of these great Brotherhoods, speaking in no uncertain terms of their great need?" The picture of that grand man standing there with that book quivering in his nervous hand high above his head, will never be banished from my memory. Something of a like scene occurred on the day of the all night session, when some one asked him how long he would delay the important business of Congress, now so near its close, on such a bill as this? Rising in his place to his full height, and quivering with hot indignation that such a question should be asked by any one on that floor, he looked straight at the man who had asked it, and with southern fire flashing from his eyes, replied, "Sir, I will stand here till eternity comes before I will turn my back on these deserving men, and on such a bill as this." For a moment the House was as silent as death, and then such a roar of applause broke forth as is seldom heard in that body. That noble man is now, I understand, dead. If he were living, I should esteem it a great pleasure to go all the way to his home and thank him over again for his grand help in the work.

At the close of Mr. Wise's great speech the yeas and nays were called. There was an almost breathless silence during that roll call. Col. D. B. Henderson, then a member of the House, who had from the very first stood like a rock for the bill, and done it much eminent service, understanding that Tom Reed was not to vote for the bill, went to him, and with some very forcible words, which he knew so well how to use, persuaded him to leave the House so as not to be put on record against the bill. The vote was very close. There were only five votes over a two-thirds majority. Every one of the Iowa delegation voted for the bill except Judge Walter I. Hayes. He voted against it. What was the result to him? He had been elected by over seven thousand majority in his district, as I remember it, but the railroad

employees of his district combined, and irrespective of party, overcame that large majority, and left the Judge out in the cold. Thanks to the sense of the Fifty-second Congress, the bill was passed at last, and on the day before President Harrison laid aside his authority, he gave it his approval. It was now a bill no longer, but a solemn law of a great nation. I doubt if Mr. Harrison ever signed a bill with as much willingness as he did that. If I am rightly informed, he said that very thing. I can leave it to the judgment of the reader to determine what would have been the result if I had taken Mr. O'Neill's advice and left Washington for my home. The pen with which the President signed the bill had been spoken for by the Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission—so Maj. Halford, the private secretary of the President told me—and I suppose he has it now. I understand that the legislature of Massachusetts passed a vote of thanks to this Secretary for getting the coupler bill through Congress! It matters little by whose work the grand result was brought about. The saving of life and limb by this law is something stupendous, and must be a source of great satisfaction to every person who had anything to do with its enactment. In the year after President Harrison's approval of the measure there were 2,837 railroad men killed, and between 20,000 and 30,000 injured. Four years later there were only 1,693 killed, making a saving of 1,044 lives, and there were about 5,000 fewer men injured by accidents. The roads had not then quite half equipped their cars as the law required. Now, at the time I am writing (1902), all the cars and trains are fully equipped with these life-saving appliances, reducing the loss of life and limb from what it was at the time the bill became a law, by sixty-four per cent, according to the last report, and there are a great many more men employed on the railroads now than ever before.

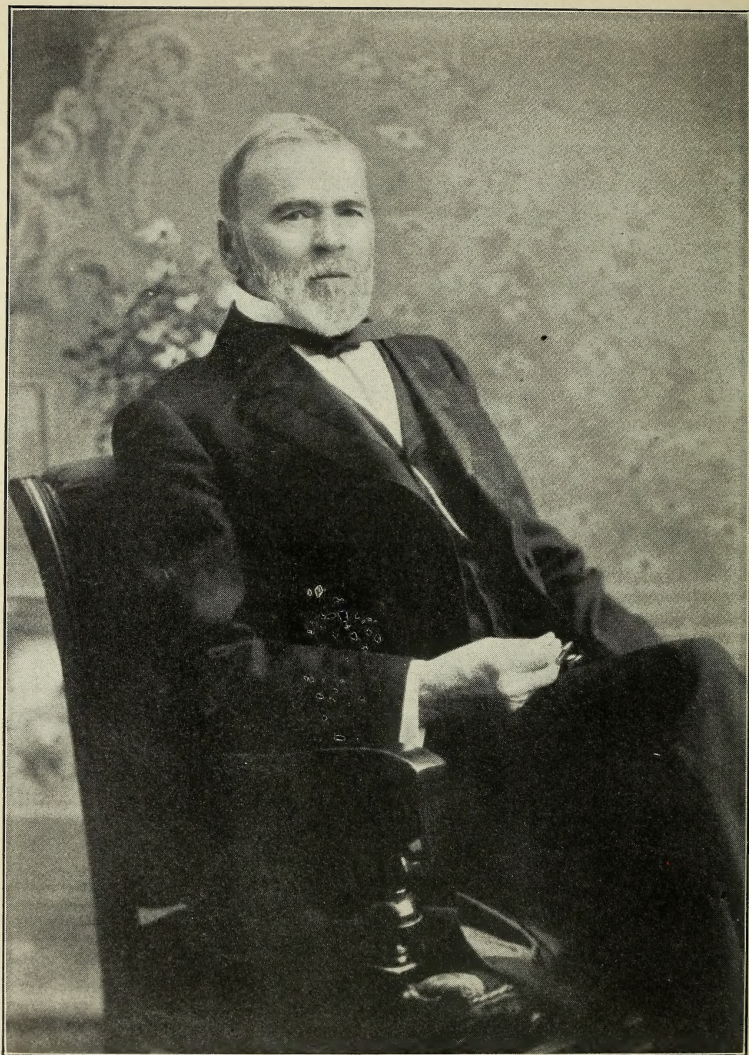
Without carrying this history of the safety appliance law further I want to emphasize one very important point. No matter who may claim to be the originator of such a law, one

thing is certain, that the bill drafted by me and which became our Iowa law was the first of its kind on our statute book, and I believe that all intelligent, honest men will be willing also to admit that no one had preceded me in the general agitation of this matter. Then, it is, I think, generally known and admitted that the first bill ever presented in either body of Congress was drafted by myself. This fact will be attested both by Senator Allison and Speaker Henderson. So, when I claim that I was the chief actor in this movement, I do not step so far aside from becoming modesty as to come into the realm of offensive egotism. It was not in the power of any one man, single-handed and alone, to inaugurate and bring to a successful conclusion a movement like this which cost the railroad corporations not less than one hundred million dollars—I say it was not in the possibility of any one man to do this with all the combined forces of the railroads against him. And more especially would this be impossible when such a gigantic work was undertaken by a man like myself, a humble, obscure farmer, with little or no education or reputation to give him prestige. It was God behind the movement that insured its success. I was used by Him as the instrument to work out a mighty good to the children of men. I have never at any time been able to think that I alone have done anything. This feeling was so dominant in me, that when I came home from Washington after the bill became a law, and the ladies of the Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who had named their lodge after me, gave me a reception and invited some of our most eloquent speakers to make addresses, I sat there and listened to their very able speeches, but could not make it seem that they were talking about me, or of anything I had done. God gave to me a great love and respect for this large and deserving class of wage earners, the railroad employees. To them I have given the best years of my life, and no class of men deserve it more, and no class appreciates more a kindly act in their behalf. Where-

ever a locomotive whistle is heard, wherever a freight car wheel turns, there I have a friend. But this friendship is not confined alone to the men on the trains. In every home to which these men return when they come in from their runs, a "God bless Father Coffin" springs to the lips of mother, wife and daughter, that son, father and brother can now more surely come home alive and unharmed. Whether or not it was L. S. Coffin that God used to bring this great blessing to these men, that is the way the boys of the railroad feel, and I am a thousand times more than satisfied, and will give to the loving Father grateful praise. For twelve years they have honored me with the Presidency of the Railroad Employes' Home, a home for aged and disabled railroad men, for the present located at Highland Park, Ill. This Home is destined in time to grow into a great institution, and be cared for and managed by the great Railroad Men's Brotherhoods of America and Canada.

WILLOW EDGE FARM, near Ft. Dodge, Ia., Dec. 15, 1902.

IT CAN no longer be doubted that a railroad will approach our eastern border, within a very short time,—say two years at the outside. Either at Galena or Savanna, within two years we shall hear the whistle of the iron horse. The completion of that road, to either of these places will, in a measure revolutionize the trade of the country bordering on the Mississippi, above Davenport, and on no part of that country will the change be more sensibly felt than in Jackson county. Situated as we are, directly opposite the terminus, no matter at which place it comes, the effect on the interests of the county will be most important. The direction of our trade will be from south to east. That is, our produce will go east to find a market and from the east shall we receive our merchandize.—*Bellevue Democrat*, Oct. 29, 1851.



John H. Gear

JOHN HENRY GEAR.

Speaker of the Iowa House of Representatives, 1874-76; Governor of Iowa, 1878-82;
Member of the U. S. House of Representatives, 1887-91;
U. S. Senator, 1895-1900.

GOV. JOHN HENRY GEAR.

BY WILLIAM H. FLEMING.*

Of the men who have held the office of Governor of this State, five were residents of the territory when it became such. The subject of this sketch was one, entering the territory in the very year of its erection. A native of the State of New York, the boy Gear went with his father from Galena to Fort Snelling in the year 1838. It will be remembered that the Fort named was then in Iowa territory.

The first ancestors of the late Senator to come to America settled in Connecticut on their arrival from England in 1647. There the descendants of the first immigrant resided for more than a century, and doubtless many of them are in the neighborhood yet. After the war of the Revolution was over, Hezekiah Gear, who had married Sarah Gilbert, removed to Pittsfield, Mass., where Ezekiel Gilbert Gear was born. In 1791, when the latter attained to his majority, he determined to enter upon the work of the gospel ministry.

*William Henry Fleming was born of Irish parentage, in New York City, April 14, 1833. He was educated partly in a private school, but mostly in Public School No. 7 of that city. At the age of fourteen he became an apprentice to John A. Gray, one of the most distinguished printers and publishers of the last generation. He also worked for John F. Trow, who for many years published the Directory of New York City. After spending several years with Mr. Trow, he came to Iowa, settling in Scott county. He was one year City Editor of *The Davenport Gazette*. During three of the eleven years he was in Scott county he published a paper at Le Claire. Mr. Fleming superintended the printing of the voluminous Reports of Adj. Gen. N. B. Baker (1865-67), relating to the Iowa Regiments in the Civil War, and edited most of them. He also planned the General Index of Iowa soldiers now in the Adjutant General's office, much of which was executed under his supervision. In January, 1867, he became Deputy Secretary of State under Gen. Ed Wright. He held this position two and a half years, when Governor Samuel Merrill appointed Mr. Fleming his Private Secretary. In this useful and honorable capacity he served through the administrations of Governors Merrill, Carpenter, Kirkwood, Newbold, Gear, Drake, and Shaw. In 1882-83 he compiled the well-known "Historical and Comparative Census of 1836-80," a publication of permanent interest and great value. He was one of the proprietors of *The Daily Capital* in 1883, and acting Deputy Auditor of State in 1885. He has read the proofs and prepared indexes for a score or more of Iowa official publications. For many years, down to the present time, he has been engaged in journalistic work. He is probably the best informed man in the State in regard to the laws on our statute books, as well as upon the records of political parties. He is often referred to as a "walking encyclopedia" of Iowa history. In December, 1902, he was tendered and accepted a position under Secretary Shaw, in the Treasury Department, at Washington, D. C.

At the age of twenty-four he was ordained to the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Soon afterwards he became a missionary among the Indians of western New York, the remnant of that powerful confederacy, the rule of which was once acknowledged in perhaps the greater part of what is now the United States east of the Mississippi. In the region inhabited by these tribes, was born on the 7th day of April, 1825, at the village of Ithaca, if it could be called a village then, John Henry Gear. His mother, Harriet Cook Gear, dying in the boy's early childhood, he was taken by his grandmother to Pittsfield. He was returned by his father, in the year 1831, to the home of the latter, who had remarried, and five years afterwards the family removed to Galena, Ill., then the most important town in the west, except St. Louis. After a residence there of a couple of years, the removal to Ft. Snelling, Iowa territory, occurred, the father being a chaplain in the army. The limited schooling the boy got away from the parental roof was largely supplemented by that which his missionary father could impart. In 1843 young Gear left home and started to make for himself a name and fortune. He at once went to Burlington, the home of his aunt, the wife of Hon. Charles Mason, the only chief justice the territory of Iowa had. Burlington was also the home of Governor Chambers, the territorial executive, to whom young Gear brought dispatches from Ft. Snelling. He was wearing his first boots, having up to that time worn moccasins. The Governor's greeting was, "You look like a young fellow for important business like this." Here, after doing some work on a farm, he got employment with Bridgman Brothers, at a compensation of \$50 a year and board. Subsequently he went with one of the brothers to Keosauqua, at a salary of \$100 and board. In 1845 he returned to Burlington, where he entered the establishment of W. F. Coolbaugh & Co., of which house he was destined in a few years to become a partner in the business, and eventually its head; and in 1855 it all became his. During these

years he traveled extensively in southern Iowa, getting to know pretty much every business man and not a few others in all that part of the State. Traveling then, one need not be reminded, meant more of toil than it does now. During at least the earlier part of his days on the road there was not a mile of railway in Iowa, and many years more had to elapse before he could get one hundred miles west of Burlington by rail. The period in which he traveled as representative of the house of which he became the head was one of large activity, for it was then that the great tide of immigration which marked the decade of the '50's was pouring into the State, and new farms were being opened, towns laid out, and railroads projected of a magnitude which our 9,000 miles of constructed road hardly surpasses. The acquaintance which this active and enterprising merchant then made told when in after years he had entered public life.

In 1852 Mr. Gear held his first office, that of alderman. It was eleven years afterwards before he again held civic office. In the spring of 1863 he was chosen mayor of the city of his home. A few years later he was nominated for the office of Representative in the General Assembly, but he declined the nomination. Again, in 1871, he was nominated with his own consent, and was elected. He then entered the Fourteenth General Assembly. The House of Representatives at that time was one of the ablest the State has known. On one side were Kasson, Pratt and Wilson, all of whom left that legislature to enter Congress. On the other were Duncombe, one of the strongest men the Democratic party of Iowa has ever had among its leaders; Ainsworth, soon to enter Congress, the first Democrat to have a seat in that body since before the war; Benton J. Hall, who also some years later became the first Democrat to represent the First District in Congress, Ed Campbell, and John P. Irish, all men of might in their party a quarter of a century; and there were many other men of marked ability. Among such men the new Representative from the county of Des Moines soon

took position as a leader. The most notable legislation of that session was the bill providing a different method of taxing railroads from that formerly in vogue. The railroads had up till that time paid a percentage of their gross earnings into the State treasury, part of which was disbursed to the counties. A bill was brought into the legislature providing a new system, which was substantially that now in vogue. It was fought steadily by a vigorous but powerless minority, one of the leaders of which was the future Governor and Senator. Steadily, at every stage of the measure, he antagonized it, and tried to improve it. In this he was associated with Kasson, Irish, Green of Davenport, and others. The feature which they especially contended against was the one which deprived the cities of the tax on the property within their limits. They tried to get this changed, but unavailingly. Among the amendments offered by Mr. Gear was one to include in certain instructions which the House was giving a committee, the following:

Also, to prepare the necessary additional section to secure the proper limitation upon the rates and charges to be taken and received by railroads, and to prevent the exaction from the people by the railroads of the amount of taxes levied by this act by onerous charges on the transportation of freight.

This, as everything else that was offered to improve the bill, was rejected. When the measure was finally passed, the following protest was entered on the journal of the House:

The undersigned members of the House of Representatives do most respectfully, but earnestly and firmly, protest against the passage of the bill known as "Substitute for H. F. No. 279," entitled "An Act for the taxation of railroads," for the following reasons, to-wit:

First—That it is inequitable in its provisions to the counties having railways within their limits, in that it puts all the property, without the right of way, into the hands of men who cannot from the nature of the case fix proper valuation on the same.

Second—That it is inequitable and unjust to the cities in this State having railways within their limits, from the fact that on the cities is thrown the burden of protecting railway property within their limits, as put forth in the opinion of the Supreme Court of this State.

Third—We protest against the passage of the bill on account of the unjust legislation as put forth in section nine* of the bill.

Fourth—We protest against the whole bill as being unjust and in our judgment unconstitutional.

Fifth—That the bill we believe to be a delusion, and that it is in the interests of the railroad more than the people.

JOHN H. GEAR,
B. J. HALL,
J. W. GREEN,
W. A. STOW,
EDW. CAMPBELL,
JOHN P. IRISH,
F. O'DONNELL,
ISAAC BLAKELY,
M. GOODSPEED,
C. T. PEET,
SAMUEL WHITTEN.

The next session, which was an adjourned session held for the consideration of the proposed code, was for that reason one of the most important yet held in the State. In that work the Representative from Des Moines county took an active part. Indeed, it may be said, that he well knew what was before the body at any time during his legislative career, and kept fully in touch with the business being transacted. The section in the railroad law that prohibits pooling in this State was his work, he having introduced it and procured its passage. As originally enacted, and on Mr. Gear's motion, it is as follows:

It shall be unlawful for any railroad company to make any contract or enter into any stipulation with any other railroad company running in the same general direction by which either company shall directly or indirectly agree to divide in any manner or in any proportion the joint earnings upon the whole or any part of the freight transported over such road, and any violation of this provision shall render the railroad company violating the same liable to a penalty of \$5,000 for each month for which such earnings are divided, to be recovered for the use of the permanent school fund in the name of the State.

When the House was considering a bill requiring the stewards of hospitals for the insane to make reports of all financial

*This section, it is proper to say, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

transactions, accompanying the same with vouchers, and to have quarterly settlements with the boards of trustees, Representative Gear offered as an amendment that "such settlement of accounts shall be made by the board of trustees in open session, and shall not be intrusted to a committee." This amendment, showing as it does the member's knowledge of the tendency of boards to turn work over to committees, was adopted.

The House of Representatives in the Fifteenth General Assembly, to which Mr. Gear was chosen, was equally divided in membership between the dominant party and a new one, known as the Anti-Monopoly party. The latter had absorbed the Democratic organization, and with the aid of a secret society had swept the southern half of the State. Had it been as well organized in the northern counties as it was in the remainder of the State, it would certainly have had a majority in the House, and have imperiled the success of the State ticket. When the legislature met thus divided, many days were spent in fruitless balloting for speaker, and it was not until the 137th ballot that a choice was made. That choice fell on the Representative from Des Moines county. As in all other positions, Mr. Gear was called upon to fill, he discharged the duties of the high office with superior ability, and to universal satisfaction. The fact that the House was equally divided made the task of the Speaker exceptionally difficult. Yet no complaint was ever heard against his manner of conducting the business of the House, nor was appeal taken from his rulings. In 1876, having been for a third time elected a member, he was again chosen to the speakership, the only instance in the history of the State of such reelection.

The satisfaction Mr. Gear gave in his successive terms as speaker made the easier his canvass for the governorship, for which office he now became a pronounced candidate. He was nominated in June, 1877. He opened the campaign at West Branch, Cedar county. His reason for doing so was

that there resided in that place a man who had made calumnious accusations against the nominee in respect to his personal habits. He determined to go there and face the community where the farmer lived and where he later had considerable influence; the boldness and frankness of his talk took well with the candid Quakers who came to hear him, and produced an excellent impression. When he had concluded his speech an elderly Friend addressed him, saying, "Friend Gear, I would like to ask thee a question, if thee will answer." "I will certainly, if I can," was the reply of the speaker. Whereupon this brief dialogue ensued. "Does thee drink intoxicating liquors?" "I take a glass of whisky when I feel like it." "I admire thy candor but I wish thee did not do so." The election returns showed how well the candidate's manliness served him. Nevertheless, there was an independent Republican candidate, who drew off enough votes to prevent the nominee of the party getting a majority, something which had not happened before. But when the Governor's first term was about to expire, and the convention was being held to make nominations, a man of marked ability, who had opposed Governor Gear after his first nomination, came to him and asked the privilege of presenting his name to the State Convention. This being conceded him, the gentleman referred to made a thoroughly enthusiastic speech, expressing his gratification at the character of administration the Governor had given the State. This time there was a handsome popular majority, while the plurality was the largest any candidate for Governor ever received in Iowa during the lifetime of Governor Gear.

When Governor Gear entered upon his duties as the chief executive of the State, he found it burdened with the largest volume of floating indebtedness up to that time known in its history. Like a large volume of similar indebtedness more recently incurred, it was by no means injudiciously contracted. The period was that following the severe financial crash of 1873, and prices of material and labor were low. Hence,

most advantageous contracts could be and were made for the erection of public buildings. This is one of the reasons why the State House, much of the work on which was done at that time, was not a more expensive structure to build than it proved to be. But, when the new Governor entered upon the executive office this state of affairs was passing away, and with returning prosperity, which was alike the harbinger and the foredated effect of the return to specie payment, the low prices, the compensating accompaniment of the "hard times," were beginning to disappear. It was therefore now the time to get out of debt and keep out of it, thought the Governor, and to the payment of the debt and accumulating a sufficient surplus the executive directed his efforts. He first turned his attention to the penitentiaries, which were more under the executive control than any of the other institutions. He ordered the newly chosen warden, Capt. McMillan, to take charge of the prison at Ft. Madison some weeks before either he or his predecessor expected that the change would be made; and the first the latter knew that he must immediately retire was when his successor presented his commission and the order to take charge, and demanded immediate possession. This being promptly yielded, a rapid diminution of expenses followed. The legislature, entering into the spirit of the Governor's designs, cut down the allowance for the support of the prison and many of the salaries, and diminished the allowance to the warden. That officer was required to make contracts for furnishing discharged convicts with suitable clothing, superceding the former practice of buying each a separate outfit at retail prices. As a consequence of these and similar economies, the labor of the convicts became for the first time a source of income to our State, as it has continued to be ever since. The Governor caused the methods of keeping books at both prisons to be reformed. Furthermore, he caused monthly statements of the receipts and expenditures of the prisons to be sent to him, which statements he subjected to scrutiny. More than once was the warden

called upon to explain an apparently large price paid for a commodity that was bought for the prison; but it is only just to the prison officers to say that satisfactory explanations always came. He also caused to be sent to him a complete transcript of the convict register of each prison, which transcript he had recorded. This register is kept to this day. The account of receipts and disbursements has not been deemed necessary since the establishment of the board of control; and it has therefore been discontinued.

But the penitentiaries were not the only institutions which felt the hand of the master. All of them came to realize that there was a man at the head of affairs who was looking after the State's business as if it were his own. He often visited them, and his visits were unheralded. Yet I have never heard that any of the officers of an institution felt that they had reason to complain, or did complain, of what was done or said by the Governor. The legislature made many reductions in the allowance for these institutions mostly suggested by the executive. That this vigilance had its effect was seen in the next report of the financial officers of the State, when the expenditures during the biennial period had been smaller in volume than for any similar period during the ten years preceding.

Governor Gear had not been long in office when he came to think it well that there should be some change in the management of the institutions. Two of his predecessors had recommended the creation of a board of charities and corrections that should be charged with the duty of overseeing the charitable and penal institutions, but without other than moral control or such as it might be able to exercise through the representations such a board should make to the General Assembly. Governor Gear had given attention to this suggestion while considering the matter of the government of the institutions. That consideration brought him to quite a different conclusion. He said that what was wanted was not more boards, but fewer. He then announced

his belief that one board should be entrusted with the management of all the State's institutions; the board of control idea. He talked it to members of the General Assembly. Following his suggestion a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives placing all the charitable and penal institutions under the management of a board of three persons. It was not thought advisable by the friends of the measure to do more than this. The House, however, amended it by including in the scope of the bill all the institutions except the university. This was probably done in order to overload the measure, and thus insure its defeat. But it passed the House of Representatives as thus amended, and went to the Senate. It came near passing that body also. It received twenty-five votes in that body on suspending the rules and ordering it to a third reading the same day. This, not being two-thirds of the Senate, the motion was lost. But the Senate ordered the bill to a third reading the next day by a larger majority. But that next day, it happened, was that of the adjournment of the General Assembly, and the third reading of the bill was never reached.

Subsequently the Governor recommended that the insane hospitals be put under one board, the schools for the blind, and the deaf, and the feeble-minded under another, while to the board of regents might be committed the care of the state normal school; and the reform schools, as our industrial schools were then styled, should be left, like the penitentiaries, under the supervision of the Governor. But nothing further was done in this direction until the Twenty-seventh General Assembly, when, after a somewhat similar recommendation from Governor Drake, the General Assembly determined to go further, and adopt the plan which was proposed in the House of Representatives twenty years before, and which, as has been seen, originated with Governor Gear.

The war-loan made by the State in 1861 fell due in the year 1881, the last of the administration of Governor Gear. The matter of making suitable provision for liquidating the



Harriet Fiske Trumbull,

MRS. GOV. JOHN H. GEAR.

bonds was incumbent on the legislature of 1880. As the session wore on, the Governor became anxious lest the matter should not be attended to. There were weak-kneed men in the General Assembly who feared to make the necessary levy in order to pay the debt. Some suggested that the bonds be renewed for a period of ten years, when the State's growth and improved financial condition would permit of the retirement of the bonds without difficulty—as if the State would grow more in the ten years than it had in the twenty since the bonds were negotiated! As the session drew to its close without anything being done, or apparently contemplated, the Governor felt it incumbent on himself to talk to some of the members privately on the subject, letting it be understood that if the legislature should adjourn without attending to the matter he would call that body together immediately in extraordinary session, and would be careful to let the people know why he did so. Whether this intimation had any effect or not, certain it is that the desired action was had, for within a few days of the close of the session a bill was passed providing for the payment of the bonds, and making a special levy for the purpose of furnishing the funds necessary therefor.

In the first session held during his administration, the board of railroad commissioners was created, and the appointment of its members devolved on the Governor. From the somewhat long list of applicants for the place, not a selection was made. The appointees were men for whom no effort to get them on the board had been put forth. It is not recalled that there was a letter received at the executive office recommending the appointment of either of the persons who were selected. These were ex-Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter, Peter A. Dey, and James W. McDill. Similarly, when Gov. Carpenter retired on being nominated for Congress, Marcus C. Woodruff, of Dubuque, was selected to fill the vacancy, without waiting for recommendations for him or anybody else; although there were others who desired the place.

Again, when Senator Kirkwood resigned his seat in the Senate in order to enter the cabinet of President Garfield, the Governor sent for Judge McDill and without any previous intimation tendered him the vacant senatorship.

One of the winters when he was in the executive chair was remarkable for the quantity of snow that fell. The movements of railway trains were impeded perhaps more that season than in any other in the history of the west. The company operating one of the roads was disposed to abandon part of its line, and even did suspend traffic for a time, thus leaving the people along that part of the road comparatively without fuel, and exposing them to great suffering, there being no other road that could supply their needs. The Governor, hearing of the action of the company, communicated with its officers, protesting against their course, and announcing his determination to see what he could do to open the road for traffic if the management failed to have it done. Operations were soon resumed on the line. While he had thus a desirable amount of sternness in his make-up, he had at the same time one of the kindest of dispositions. The hill on which the capitol stands is an admirable coasting-ground when it is covered with snow. Such was the case during the season referred to, and the boys with their big bob-sleds would watch for the time when the Governor would leave the state-house, and invite him to ride with them, an invitation which was always accepted; and lively was the rivalry between the boys for the honor of carrying the Governor down the hill. The jollity of those rides with the "boss," as they would call him, will be always a pleasant memory to the boys of that day.

After his retirement from the executive office, Gov. Gear devoted himself to private enterprises, including some mining operations in Colorado. In 1886, he received the Republican nomination for Congress in the First District, and was selected after a lively contest, his competitor being his first colleague in the General Assembly, Hon. Benton J.

Hall. Two years later he was re-elected. In 1890 he went down in the general overthrow that happened to his party that year. But in 1892 he defeated his successful opponent of two years before. Of Gov. Gear's career in the House of Representatives I can best speak by quoting the language of one who was associated with him in both Houses of Congress, the present senior Senator from Minnesota:

From the very start he became an influential member, whose good sense, sound judgment and keen insight were highly valued and appreciated by his associates. His vast experience in public affairs before he entered the House of Representatives had better equipped him and made him better qualified for the important duties of a legislator than most men who entered that body. This was recognized by all. He had been a member and Speaker of the House of Representatives of his own State, and had been for four years one of the ablest and most efficient Governors of his State. He was known to all his associates as "Governor" Gear, and the term "Governor" was not, in his case, used in a perfunctory or vain sense, but with all the force and value that the term implies. His firmness and rugged honesty and integrity were recognized and felt by all. When he supported a measure, that support gave it credit, and doubts and misgivings disappeared.

He was fair, just, and fearless in the performance of his duties, and charitable and considerate towards those who differed with him. He had the happy faculty of softening and allaying the acrimony that occasionally occurred in the House. He was attentive and watchful throughout the session, and few things escaped his notice; and though not one of the leaders of the House yet he was one of the chief mainstays of those who assumed to lead, and without the assistance of such their leadership would have been a failure. His advice and opinion on all great questions were sought and valued by his associates.

Those who remember the departed statesman as a member of the legislature of Iowa will readily recognize the applicability of much that is here said to his career in that body, except that here almost from the first he was a leader. In the second Congress in which Gov. Gear sat he was instrumental in securing the adoption of the plan of allowing a bounty for sugar-raising. It will be remembered, by those familiar with the writings of Alexander Hamilton, that the bounty system, rather more than that of protective duties, was his favorite plan for encouraging domestic manufactures.

The measure succeeded when presented in the Fifty-first Congress. Of the passage of the bill which contained that provision, it is the opinion of a distinguished Senator who also served in the Senate with Senator Gear, "That no member of the committee, barring its learned head (Mr. McKinley), contributed more to the result obtained than did Mr. Gear." The Senator added, further speaking of the Iowan, "He brought to the consultations of the committee room not the philosophy of the schools or the dreams of the theorist, but rather the practical experience of a business life. He seemed to possess upon almost every subject connected with that legislation an inexhaustible fund of information and knowledge of its infinite details, gathered from practical experiences in life, which served at all times to illumine the subject and light the way to wise and safe conclusions."

In 1894 Governor Gear was elected to the Senate of the United States and took his seat in 1895. In 1900 he was elected for another term, of which he was not destined to see the beginning. In that illustrious body he had an influence such as is rarely the fortune of a Senator in his first term to possess. Here his habits of industry and close attention to business made him strong and appreciated. A Senator of opposite faith said of him, "The thorough business habits of the deceased made him a useful man in the Senate. He did much valuable work in the Senate that escaped public attention, and for which he never received credit. He was not a man who sought notoriety. His valuable services consisted largely in thorough and efficient committee work—just such work as shapes and molds legislation, and which is seldom properly appreciated by the public."

It may be truly said that rarely has a junior Senator had the influence, or commanded the attention of that illustrious legislative body, so much as Senator Gear. His presence and power were felt there, and amounted almost to a leadership.

The useful career of this distinguished statesman came to

an end on the morning of the 14th day of July, 1900. That end came quietly and peacefully; and while rather suddenly it was nevertheless not a surprise to his friends, who had been familiar with the fact that the health of the veteran commoner was steadily failing.

In all the relations of life, the Governor and Senator was a true man. He was a devoted husband and father, an estimable citizen, a public servant of the highest type, a statesman of enlarged and progressive views.

Gov. Gear's memory was phenomenal. While I would not say of him, as is sometimes vainly said of a man, "He never forgot a face," I would say that very few men I have known came so near being thus equipped with an unfailing memory. When he did remember a person, he seemed also to recall at once all he had ever known of that person. This happy faculty was of vast service to him in his public career. He was moreover one of the most faithful of friends, as all realized who were ever included in the circle of that friendship.

Few members ever served their individual constituents so faithfully as he did. His correspondence was enormous. Senator Mason said of it, that when Gov. Gear and he were members of the House of Representatives it was the largest that came to any member of that body, and it always had attention.

When he was Governor he attended to the correspondence of the office largely in person. There were no stenographers in the employ of the State then, and it was before the days of the typewriter. Yet it was attended to promptly and fully. The Governor wrote rapidly, and expressed himself clearly.

He has now passed to the realms of the unseen, perhaps rather of the real. The State mourns it. One of the most approachable and lovable of men, few could have gone hence whose departure would be so keenly felt as that of this worthy citizen.

I cannot better close this sketch of the departed Senator than by quoting from what was said of him by one who had known him all his life in Iowa, the venerable Dr. Salter of Burlington, and by one who had known him all his public life and who was much of that time intimately associated with him, the distinguished Congressman from the Seventh District, Hon. John A. T. Hull.

Said Dr. Salter:

His name is written large in the history of this commonwealth, in the records of Congress, and in the hearts of thousands of our people. While he died in the height of his fame with such honors clustering his brow as fall to few; secure so far as human authority and power go in one of the high dignities of the world; he bore honor and fame with the same simplicity that characterized him in every situation.

Said Captain Hull:

His loss will be mourned in Iowa while the generation now living there shall rule. His memory will be borne in the affectionate hearts of the people he loved so well. We will build him an enduring monument in our State, in the affections of our children; and we can say to his friends that they can take pride in the fact that they were related to this splendid specimen of American manhood and American statesmanship.

This paper would be incomplete without mention of the worthy woman who was for well nigh half a century one of the best of helpmeets, friend, adviser, counselor—everything which the best of wives may be, and who with two of their four children survived him. To her, Miss Harriet Foote, he was married in the year 1852. She too has now passed from earth, and rejoined her husband. This lady was born November 11, 1818, and died October 4, 1902. Her birthplace was Middlebury, Addison county, Vermont, at the south point of Lake Champlain. She was the daughter of Justus Foote. Her mother, Harriet Swan Graham, was the daughter of Rev. John Graham, a native of Scotland, of the clan Graeme, who became minister of the parish at Suffield, Connecticut. A colleague of Mr. Graham in that pastorate was Rev. Daniel Waldo, who was chaplain of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-fourth Congress. Miss Foote came

with her mother from Vermont to the home of her brother, John Graham Foote, afterwards senator (1860-1864) and capitol commissioner (1872-1886). Of this excellent woman, one who knew her well thus wrote:

Mrs. Gear did not seek public life for herself. She idealized and idolized her home. To her it was everything it could mean for wife and mother. But, having met its many obligations, Mrs. Gear entered with great spirit and earnestness into the public life of her distinguished husband. In her clear insight into human nature and human motives, her keen discernment and lofty ideals, . . . Mrs. Gear was a strong, sustaining force, which the Senator dearly prized.

During the administration of her husband, Mrs. Gear, seeing that the battle-flags of the regiments were disappearing where they were kept, that every zephyr carried away some of the precious material of which they were made, determined to make an effort to preserve them from further destruction. She accordingly obtained permission from the Executive Council to undertake the task. Securing the help of many of the widows and daughters of soldiers and others, she had the flags covered with a material which, while it exposed the colors to view, yet protected them from being torn to pieces by the winds. In this work, Mrs. Gear prepared nearly if not quite every flag for the quilting process by putting the tattered fragments of the valued emblems in their proper places, and turning them over to those who did the sewing. To this work Mrs. Gear devoted several weeks of constant labor. The fact that the colors of the regiments which did so much for the fame of Iowa can now be distinguished is largely due to the judicious care thus taken of them by this thoughtful woman.

The social life of the capital was much enlivened during the administration of Governor Gear. He and his wife were delightful hosts; and many times during the sessions did they entertain members and others; and gatherings of those days live in local history as among the most charming of like events in the memory of denizens of the capital.

Of this estimable couple, the Rev. Dr. Salter, the vener-

able senior pastor in Iowa, said, in the course of a funeral tribute to Mrs. Gear:

The two lives were mingled and blended in a more perfect union than ordinarily falls to human lot. Her own large intelligence, her acquaintance with the social, moral, and political questions of the age, her public spirit, her devotion to her country's cause and honor and advancement, her simplicity of life, her gracious and dignified manners, her wisdom and discretion and courage of speech, her reserve and silence when patience and the unspoken word were the best, her quiet discernment of artifice and imposture, her instant appreciation of whatsoever things are just and pure and true and good, her generous disposition to help every worthy cause and all worthy persons, and the respect she won for herself alike from the friends and from the competitors of her husband in his public career—all combined to give her consideration and influence among public men and in the public affairs of Iowa and the nation.

The Sioux City Journal, whose editor, Hon. George D. Perkins, was in both the State and National legislatures with Gov. Gear, and knew both husband and wife intimately, paid tribute to her memory thus:

Senator Gear's political life fell in stormy times. His best lieutenant was his wife. She was constantly with him, and she bore her part in every battle. Senator Gear had rare faculty in making friends, and Mrs. Gear was inventful in social pleasures involving politics. Going back to the time of his service as Speaker and Governor, it is safe to say that Mr. Gear knew more Iowa people by name than any one else, with his wife a close second.

Iowa has never had as high a type of woman politician as it had in Mrs. Gear. She was a stately lady. She was hostess at her husband's board. She had keen observation; she knew where the ground was solid, and she knew where it was treacherous. But she had the tact to keep what she knew and what she observed from the knowledge of her happy companies. She never sought credit for herself; everything with her was "Henry Gear's".

The Senator died in the harness as he had hoped to do, with the confidence and warm affection of his State freshly written as his heirloom. With his death, despite all the loving struggle of her heart and hands to ward off the summons, her lifework was ended. She had only to wait.



J. C. BELTRAMI, THE ITALIAN TRAVELER,
As he dressed when among the Western Indians.

THE EASTERN BORDER OF IOWA IN 1823.

EDITED BY WILLIAM SALTER.

J. C. Beltrami, "formerly Judge of a Royal Court in the Ex-Kingdom of Italy" (1805-14), published "A Pilgrimage in Europe and America," 2 vols., London, 1828. The second volume contains a description of a voyage to the sources of the Mississippi, with a map of the river. Fifty pages cover the eastern boundary of Iowa. Beltrami came down the Ohio river, and up the Mississippi to St. Louis, in April, 1823. In his company were William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-6, afterwards Governor of Missouri Territory, and for many years Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the Missouri and upper Mississippi, and Lawrence Taliaferro, U. S. Indian agent among the Sioux.

On the 2d of May Beltrami left St. Louis in company with Mr. Taliaferro on the Virginia, a steamboat 118 feet long, 22 feet wide, Captain Perston. His narrative is diffuse, but has some items of interest, showing the state of things and the manners and customs of the Indians upon our eastern border, nine years before the Black Hawk War. The narrative, somewhat abridged, is as follows:

A chief of one of the tribes of the Saukis, The Great Eagle, was on board. The first thing he did, when we were some distance from shore, was to take off the uniform Governor Clark had given him as a present from the Great Father (President Monroe). He showed high satisfaction at finding himself once more *in statu quo* of our first parents. The youngest of his two children had not even a leaf or a bit of cloth round the loins, whilst we were shivering with cold, though wrapped in our flannel and great coats.

Clarksville and Louisiana are two rising villages, the latter 112 miles from St. Louis. From the top of a pretty hill the eye rests on nothing but immense and impenetrable woods, the only asylum we have henceforth to expect; for, with the exception of the forts upon the river and Prairie du Chien, this is the last vestige of civilization towards the north.

In the midst of these masses of trees, one meets with beautiful tracts of meadow land, destitute of shrubs or bushes, or they sometimes exhibit the appearance of groves and clumps of trees disposed with so much symmetry that, but for the death-like stillness which pervades this silence, it would

be impossible not to think that they had been placed by the hand of man.

On the 6th (May), while the steamboat was taking in wood, I wandered into a forest. The varied forms and tints of the landscape insensibly led me on, and a flock of wild turkeys induced me to go so far that I was unable to regain the place where the steamboat had stopped. In this dilemma my compass was my guide; but what was my surprise at finding the vessel gone! A bend of the river concealed every signal I could make, and the discharges of my gun resounded vainly in the forest. I betook myself to my legs; fortunately the steamboat ran aground. At this moment my companions discovered that I was missing. The canoe which was dispatched to meet me arrived just in time, for I was so out of breath that I must have given up the pursuit. The Great Eagle, vexed and angry that the pilot had not taken his advice respecting the channel, jumped into the river and swam to the bank. The following day we found him surrounded by his tribe at Fort Edwards, where he had arrived before us. They had formed a temporary encampment, and were exchanging furs with the traders of the South-west Company. Scarcely were we within sight of the encampment when the children of Great Eagle plunged into the river and swam to their den with the eagerness of wild beasts escaping from a menagerie into their native forests. Great Eagle came on board to take his bow and quiver and gun; although exasperated against the people of the boat, he put out his hand to me as a mark of friendship. I availed myself of this favorable moment to ask him for a scalp suspended by the hair to the handle of his tomahawk. It was a pericranium of a chief of the Sioux whom he had killed the preceding year. This scalp is as honorable a trophy to an Indian, as a horse's tail is to a Turk, a Tartar, or a Chinese.

Fort Edwards is built on the eastern bank of the Mississippi; it commands a great extent of the river, as well as the mouth of the river Le Moine, which descends from the wes-

and is navigable for 300 miles into the interior. The banks of this river are inhabited by the Yawohas, a savage people who have been almost destroyed by the Sioux.

The country beyond Fort Edwards on the west of the Mississippi, as far as its sources, and even still farther, which belonged to the Territory of Missouri before the State of Missouri was formed, is now distinguished only under the name of Savage Lands; for throughout their whole extent there are no other traces of civilization than a few scattered huts belonging to traders, themselves descendants of savages.

The Government has had the wisdom to organize an intendancy with sub-intendancies to watch over and protect the people, prevent abuses on the part of those authorized to trade with them, and oppose the usurpation of that right by foreigners. This was necessary, because the English Northwest Company had extended its establishments far into the territory of the United States, which enabled the Cabinet of St. James to excite the Indians against the United States.

The Saukis were the first Indians we met with towards the north; I visited their camp; their huts are covered with mats or skins. The Canadians, the classical nomenclators of these countries, call them lodges. They are elliptical. Each generally contains a family; they sleep in a circle upon skins, mats, or dried grass. Fire is made in the center, as among the ancients; the smoke passes through the round opening in the roof. A copper or tin boiler, which they get from the traders, supported by a wooden fork stuck in the ground, pieces of wood hollowed into spoons, bits of the bark of trees formed into plates and dishes, the horns of buffaloes cut into cups, constitute their table service. A stake supplies the place of a spit, fingers serve for forks, the earth for a table, a skin on the carpet of nature for a tablecloth. They sit indiscriminately around the food with which Providence and their guns supply them. Neither kings nor courtiers are treated with any distinction. In this perfect republic equality is not less the privilege of animals than men. The

dogs, although illegitimate and descended from wolves, are seated at the same table with the savages, and at the same divan; they partake of the same dishes, and sleep in the same beds. I have seen young bears treated as a part of the community.

The faces of the Saukis are not disagreeable; their heads are rather small, with no hair except a small tuft upon the pineal gland, like that of the Turks; this gives the forehead an appearance of elevation. Their eyes are small, eye-brows thin; the cornea approaches rather to yellow, the pupil to red; they are the link between those of the orang-outang and ours. Their ears are sufficiently large to bear all the jewels with which they are adorned; two foxes' tails dangled from those of the Great Eagle. I have seen others to which were hung bells, heads of birds, and buckles, which penetrated the whole cartilaginous part from top to bottom. Their noses are large and flat, like those of the nations of Eastern Asia; their nostrils are pierced and ornamented like their ears. The maxillary bones are very prominent, the under jaw extends outwards on both sides. Their mouths are large, teeth close set, and of the purest enamel; their lips a little inverted. Their necks are regularly formed; they have large bellies and narrow chests so that their bodies are generally larger below than above. Their feet and hands are well proportioned; their arms slender; this may be attributed to want of exercise. The only part of the body savages inure to fatigue is the legs, which are more robust than the rest of their frame. Their complexion is copper-colored, whence they call themselves the Red People, as a distinction from whites and blacks. Except the tuft on the head, they have no hair on any part of the body. They pluck it out at an early age, and as they use the most persevering means for its extirpation, nothing is left but a soft down.

You would be astonished at the striking coincidences between the habits of the Indians and those of the ancient and modern people of the old world. Notwithstanding the con-

tinuance of cold weather the men had nothing but a single covering of wool or skin, which serves them day and night. They throw it about them with grace and dexterity, as the Romans did their *pallium*. Their coverings for the feet and legs, which they call *mokasins*, are made of the skin of the roe-buck, buffalo, or elk, and are like the *cothurni* of the Greeks and Romans. In summer they generally go barefoot; in winter they wear a kind of skin or cloth gaiters which they call *mytas*. They wear a covering round the loins; the rest of the body, even the head, is naked, whether it rains, hails, or freezes, or the earth is parched with the heat of the dog-days.

Their offensive weapons are the bow, arrow, pike, lance, as among the ancients; the axe, club, dagger, as among combatants of the middle ages; the tomahawk, as used by the Tartars of Tamerlane; and the gun used by modern nations. The shield is their only defensive weapon. It is of leather, round or oval. They paint it as the Romans did, and like them trace the origin of their armorial bearings from it. They paint those hieroglyphics upon their tents, as we do upon the doors or walls of our mansions. I have one which is ornamented with plumes, and bears the head of the manitou or peculiar god of the hero from whom I received it,—the head of a wild duck, by which he expected perhaps to petrify his enemies, as Perseus did with the head of Medusa.

A kind of tunic with large sleeves, which comes down to the girdle of the female Saukis, is like the Hebrew ephod; plates of white metal, fixed on the part which covers the breast, seem an imitation of the *fibulae* of the ancients. A petticoat fitting close to the body descends to the knees; their legs are covered with a kind of gaiters, resembling those of the ancient Scythian women. The covering of the feet and legs is distinguished from that of the men only by its elegance; in summer their feet and legs are uncovered. During youth their forms are attractive, but these flowers soon fade; evening succeeds to the morning without the interval

of noon; for the women are the porters, the beasts of burden of the men, who, they say, would lose all dignity if they condescended to any other occupation than hunting and war. There is no slavery more abject than that of the Indian women. They are looked upon with such contempt that the greatest insult to an Indian is to say, "You are a squaw." It frequently happens that these victims of the tyranny of man have such a horror of the fate of their sex, that they destroy their daughters at birth.

The men and women daub their faces with red, yellow, white, or blue. When in mourning, they paint the whole face black, and even the body, during a year; the second year they paint only one-half; and at last merely streak themselves with it in various patterns. Both men and women wear ornaments on the neck and arms; some wear small glass beads the traders sell them; others, the teeth or claws of wild beasts. That the female savages wear necklaces, like the Greeks and Romans, is not extraordinary, for they are worn everywhere; but what does surprise one is, that like the women of antiquity they offer them to the departed spirits of their relatives, of which I have been a witness.

I saw one of these tribes break up their tents to go in search of a new domicile. The kitchen utensils occupied the center of the canoe; mats and skins covered them; the children, dogs, bears, were placed opposite; the men on either side; the women at the two extremes exercised the functions of pilots and sailors; sometimes, the men rowed. The vessel is the hollowed trunk of a tree.

The evening of the 6th May we set out from Fort Edwards, where we were treated by the officers with much politeness; we soon returned, however, for the steamboat, being too heavily laden, was unable to make a passage at the middle of the Rapids of the Moine, nine miles above the Fort. On the 7th, while the steamboat was getting ready, I made a little shooting excursion. I killed a monstrous serpent, almost entirely black, spotted with yellow, called by the In-

dians *piacoiba*. They dread it more than the rattlesnake, though its bite is not so dangerous, because it glides insidiously among the briars and grass, and its attacks are unexpected; whereas the other gives notice of its approach. At sight of my prize the Indians welcomed me as if I had been a beneficent Manitou. Their nakedness and wandering life render reptiles (*womanduska*) objects of terror; yet no one dare kill them, for they believe them to be malevolent spirits, who would visit their families with every kind of misfortune if they attempted to destroy them.

The next day (May 8th) we ascended, though not without difficulty, the rapids which continue for twenty-one miles, when we saw another encampment of Saukis upon the eastern bank. Nine miles higher, on the western bank, are the ruins of Fort Madison. The President of that name had established an *entrepot* of articles most necessary for the Indians to be exchanged for their peltry. The object of the Government was not speculation, but by example to fix reasonable prices among the traders. Fearing, however, the effect of any restraint upon the trade of private individuals, it has withdrawn its factories and agents, and left the field to the South West Company, which has been joined by a rival company, and now monopolizes the commerce of almost the whole savage regions of the Mississippi and Missouri. Its centers of operation are St. Louis and Michilimackinac.

At a short distance from this Fort, on the same side is the river of the Bete Puante (Skunk), and farther on, that of the Yahowas, so called from the savage tribes which inhabited its banks.

The fields were beginning to resume their verdure; the meadows, groves, and forests were reviving at the breath of spring. Never had I seen nature more beautiful, more majestic, than in this vast domain of silence and solitude. Wooded islands disposed in beautiful order by the hand of nature varied the picture; smiling hills formed a delightful contrast with the immense prairies which are like oceans, and

the monotony is relieved by isolated clusters of thick and massy trees. These enchanting scenes lasted from the river Yahowa till we reached a distant and exquisitely blended view of what is called Rocky Island, 160 miles from Fort Edwards. Fort Armstrong at this point is constructed upon a plateau above the level of the river, and rewards the spectator with the most magical variety of scenery.

The eastern bank at the mouth of Rocky river was lined with an encampment of Indians, called Foxes. Their features, customs, and language are similar to those of the Saukis, whose allies they are. On the western shore of the Mississippi, a semi-circular hill encloses a spot carefully cultivated by the garrison, and formed into fields and kitchen gardens. The Fort saluted us on our arrival with four discharges of cannon, and the Indians paid us the same compliment with their muskets. The echo, which repeated them, was striking from contrast with the deep repose of these deserts.

We arrived on the 10th, about noon. After dinner I visited the Saukis, three miles to the east, on the north bank of the Rocky river. Here they had formed their most extensive encampment, the only one they constantly inhabit during the summer months.

In this village I witnessed the dexterity with which Indians handled their bows. Children, nine or ten years of age, hit a small piece of money of six sous, which I fixed up for them to aim at, at a distance of twenty-five paces, often at the second trial. At last I was obliged to remove it to thirty-five, or they would soon have exhausted the little purse I had filled for this visit. The chiefs offered us a refreshment of bear's flesh, dried in the smoke, more delicious than our hams, and of roots resembling chicory highly flavored; they call them *pokinota*.

Their faces exhibited every variety of color. Some of the hieroglyphics painted on their bodies reminded me of the mysteries of the ancient Egyptian priests. Those who fa-

vored us with the Medicine Dance (*Wakaw Wata*) had their faces covered with them.

As the only people the Indians ever heard of are French, English, Spanish, and Americans, the Saukis were astonished when I told them that I did not belong to any of them. I made them believe that I came from the moon; their astonishment was then converted into veneration, for they adore her as a benevolent deity whose rays enable them to hunt, fish, or travel, during the night.

This medicine dance is the offspring of political knavery and superstitious credulity. It has some analogy with the mysteries of Eleusis, and with others which turn the brains of some moderns. The initiated are enclosed within a parallelogram formed by a barricade covered with skins. The profane may witness the ceremony at a distance. As I wished to know the secret, I determined to try a clandestine entrance; accordingly I glided into the enclosure, but was turned out, although a son of the moon. A president, whose head is adorned with plumes, and horns of a buffalo, takes his station, surrounded by musicians, east of the enclosure. At the west, two warriors with bows and arrows guard the entrance. A master of ceremonies, club in hand, stands in the center, and receives orders of the president. The elect, male and female, are seated on the north and south, according to seniority or rank. An orator, placed on the left of the president, every now and then raised his eyebrows, and showed by every movement of his agitated body his impatience to speak. I could neither understand nor guess the meaning of his speech. The vehemence and animation of the oratory of savages excite astonishment, contrasted with their taciturnity and apathy in common transactions. Sometimes the inspiration is so powerful that they tremble in every limb, like the Shakers. At a signal of the president, the musicians played upon their horns and drums; the latter, beaten with a stick covered with leather, produce a sound torturing to the ears. At this music the president, orator, and male

and female elect, form a circle. Each carries the skin of an otter, beaver, or some animal, made into the form of a bag open at the two ends; and at the moment the president raises his in the air, the ceremony begins. The president, making frightful contortions, and stammering out prayers, blows into one end of his bag, the other end of which is turned towards his right hand neighbor. At this instant the latter falls to the ground; he is considered dead. He is only restored to life by degrees, as his exorcist pronounces some expiatory formulae which operate like galvanism; the resuscitated person is thus completely purified. The bag and ceremony have given him a new soul.

If I may give my opinion on this farce, the medicine dance is a spiritual medicine to prepare the soul in this transitory life for a celestial and eternal one. The president and the other persons of the mystic chain become successively active and passive, until the president himself falls, dies, and is restored in his turn; he then closes the dance.

In the midst of this laughable scene, I suffered much from not being allowed to laugh. My interpreter who saw my inclination, intimated to me that its indulgence might condemn me to an *auto da fe*. I have been told that those who propose themselves for admission make large offerings, and are sometimes obliged to give all they possess to the order. I was told that in this camp there are houses in which young girls are appointed to watch over a fire which burns in the center, like the Roman and Peruvian vestals. A bag of such miraculous properties as the medicine bag deserved all my attention. I exerted every effort to obtain one. Vain, however, would have been the veneration I expressed for the prodigies it performed, had I not made a present of good whisky to the person who gave it me, and to the high priest as a bribe for his sanction. This was the first convincing proof I saw of the fatal allurements of spirituous liquors to the savages.

The next day we quitted Rocky Island, where the gen-

tlemen of the garrison were as polite to us as those of Fort Edwards. The rapids above this island, which is three miles in length, are stronger and extend farther than those of the Moine.

Six miles from the rapids we met with another tribe of Foxes, on the western bank. Higher up, after passing the rivers la Pomme (Wapsipinicon) and la Garde (Maquoketa) we saw a place called the Death's head (*Tete des Morts*), a field of battle where the Foxes defeated the Kikaskias, whose heads they fixed upon poles as trophies of their victories. We stopped at the entrance of the river la Fievre, a name in conformity with the effect of the bad air which prevails there. At seven miles from its mouth the Indians formerly collected lead, which they found scattered over the surface; they converted it into bullets. The Government purchased these lands, consisting of fifteen square miles, which it has granted out to adventurers, who pay the tenth of the net produce of lead. It has established an agent to watch over its rights.

A whole family from the interior of Kentucky have come to establish themselves at a distance of thirteen or fourteen hundred miles from their home. They were in the steamboat with their arms and baggage, cats and dogs, hens and turkeys; the children too had their own stock. The facility and indifference with which the Americans undertake distant emigrations are amazing. The spirit of speculation would carry them to the infernal regions if another Sibyl led the way with a golden bough.

Twelve miles higher up, upon the western bank, are other lead mines called Dubuque's. A Canadian of that name was a friend of a tribe of the Foxes, who have a kind of village here. In 1788 these Indians granted him permission to work the mines. His establishment flourished; he had no children. The attachment of the Indians was confined to him, and to get rid of those who wanted to succeed him, they burned his furnaces, warehouses, and dwelling, and by this

measure expressed the determination of the red people to have no other whites among them than such as they liked. The creditors of Dubuque appealed to Congress to secure to themselves these mines. It is said, that their claim was founded on a treaty between Dubuque and the Indians, that this treaty had been sanctioned by Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and that General Harrison had confirmed it in 1804; but Congress decided in favor of the Indians, who still keep exclusive possession, and with such jealousy that I was obliged to have recourse to the all-powerful whisky to obtain permission to see them. They melt the lead in holes which they dig in the rock, to reduce it into pigs. They exchange it with the traders, but they carry it themselves to the other side of the river, which they will not suffer them to pass. Notwithstanding these precautions, the mines are so valuable, and the Americans so enterprising, I question whether the Indians will long retain possession of them.

Dubuque reposes with royal state in a leaden chest in a mausoleum of wood, which the Indians erected upon the summit of a hill that overlooks their camps and commands the river. This man was become their idol, because he possessed or pretended to possess an antidote to the bite of the rattlesnake. Nothing but artifice and delusion can render the red people friendly to the whites, for they despise and hate them. A respectable gentleman, a friend of Dubuque, attempted to persuade me that this juggler was in the habit of taking rattlesnakes into his hands, and by speaking to them in a language they understand could tame them and render them gentle as doves. I observed that I believed what he asserted, because he said he had seen it, but that if I saw it with my own eyes I should not believe it. These people, proud as they are of their independence, are so inclined to superstition that they would become the most abject slaves, if they were civilized after the fashion of the Jesuits.

A little above the river Turkey, which is navigable to a considerable distance inland, is an old village which the Foxes have deserted. Here terminates the pretended territorial jurisdiction of these savages; I say pretended for savages hunt wherever they find no obstacle; which is the cause of the bloody wars by which they are destroying each other. The true name of these savages is Outhagamis. Foxes (Reynards) is a nick-name, given them by the French who discovered these countries; it was probably significant of their resemblance to these animals. Their number is much diminished. It scarcely amounts to more than sixteen hundred, who are distributed into four tribes, like the Saukis.

The Owisconsin river is the principal channel of the fur trade carried on by these savage countries by way of Michilimackinac and the lakes with Canada and New York, of which Prairie du Chien at the distance of six miles on the same eastern bank is a considerable entrepot. After passing through a space of about 670 miles of desert, this village comes upon one as by enchantment, and the contrast is more striking as it bespeaks a degree of civilization. French is the prevailing language, and strangers are well received. Americans ought to regard this village as one of the most interesting scenes of the last war against the English. This is the only place where the Anglo-savage army observed the terms of capitulation during that war. The garrison, which General Clark had placed there to neutralize the intrigues by which the English emissaries in these forests endeavored to increase the number of allies of Great Britain, was forced after a heroic resistance to surrender, but on conditions intended to prevent the massacres so often perpetrated by the savages upon prisoners. The English Colonel (Wm. McKay) kept his promise, though acting under General Proctor who saw with indifference the tomahawk and knife of these barbarians reeking with human blood.

Prairie du Chien is the rendezvous of a number of Indians who come there in autumn to lay in provisions, and in

spring to settle with their creditors who receive skins in payment. They are much more punctual than the whites would be, if they had no other guide than the law of nature, nor any other argument than their bow and arrow, knife and gun. I saw there some Winebegoes who are distinguished from other Indians by their gloomy and ferocious countenances. They are regarded as the most malignant; they were intimately connected with Proctor. Their chief, Mai-Pock, paid his court to him by appearing with a necklace composed of the ears, noses, and scalps of Americans. He regaled his friends with human flesh. I saw him, but refused to shake hands with him. It is supposed that this nation came from the northern parts of Mexico; they speak a language peculiar to themselves, and are the only friends of the Sioux, who seem also to have emigrated from Mexico. They roam and hunt towards the sources of Rocky river, upon the Owisconsin, Fox river, Green Bay, and upon Lake Michigan. They are divided into seven tribes, who dispose their small encampments upon these rivers. Their number is about 1,600. The first Frenchmen that arrived among them called them Puants, from the disagreeable odor that exhales from their bodies.

Nine miles above the Prairie, at a point where the savages pay their adoration to a rock which they annually paint with red and yellow, the Mississippi presents scenes of peculiar novelty. The hills disappear, the number of islands increases, the waters divide into various branches, and the river extends in some places to a breadth of nearly three miles, which is greater by one-half than at St. Louis, and its depth is not diminished; for from the Prairie to Fort St. Peter we ran aground only once; but from St. Louis to the Prairie four times.

The vigorous fertility of these countries imparts strength to the grass and brushwood. Once a year the Indians set fire to the brushwood, so that the surface of the vast regions they traverse is successively consumed by the flames. It was

dark, and we were at the mouth of the river Yahowa, the second of that name, when we saw at a distance all the images of the infernal regions. The trees were on fire, which communicated to the grass and brushwood, and was borne by a violent northwest wind to the plains and valleys. The flames towering above the hills gave them the appearance of volcanoes, and the fire winding in its descent through places covered with grass, exhibited a resemblance of the undulating lava of Vesuvius. This fire accompanied us with some variation for fifteen miles.

Mr. Beltrami had now passed above the northern boundary line of Iowa. On the 7th of July, at Fort St. Peter, he joined Long's Expedition to the sources of the Mississippi. This occupied nearly three months. Upon returning, he was very desirous to go from Fort St. Peter across the country to Council Bluff on the Missouri. But the season, he said, "was too far advanced in these excessively cold climates," and besides war was raging where he must have gone. Accordingly, he went down the Mississippi, leaving Fort St. Peter Oct. 3d in a decked keel-boat. At Prairie du Chien he found excellent company in two young officers from the Military Academy at West Point, who had brought recruits for Fort Crawford, and were going to Fort Council Bluff. "What a pity," he says, "that they should be doomed to pass their days in inhospitable wilds, surrounded by a corrupt and degenerate race as the Indians in the neighborhood of such establishments always are!" They arrived at St. Louis October 20th.

"A Table of Short Distances on the Mississippi," makes the whole distance on the eastern border of Iowa 397 miles, as follows:

Fort Edwards to the top of the Rapids.....	22 miles
To Old Fort Madison.....	10 miles
To River Bete Puante (Skunk).....	10 miles
To Yellow Hills (Oquawka, Ill.).....	22 miles
To River Yahowa.....	28 miles
To Grande Prairie Mascotin.....	16 miles
To end of the same.....	17 miles
To River la Roche, or Rocky.....	31 miles
To Fort Armstrong Isle.....	4 miles
To the top of the Rapids.....	16 miles
To Village of the Foxes.....	9 miles
To Marias d'Oge (Meredosia, Ill.).....	10 miles
(Formerly inhabited by a savage of that name.)	
To Old Village Sauvage.....	10 miles
To Potatoe Prairie.....	9 miles

To Prairie du Frappeur.....	10 miles
(Formerly inhabited by a savage of that name.)	
To River la Pomme.....	18 miles
To Cheniere	10 miles
To River la Garde.....	10 miles
To Tete des Morts.....	16 miles
To River aux Fievres.....	4 miles
To Dubuque mines.....	13 miles
To Prairie Macotche.....	16 miles
(Name of a savage who inhabited it.)	
To Old Village de Batard.....	10 miles
(Formerly inhabited by savages whose chief was called the Bastard.)	
To Turkies River.....	16 miles
To Old Village de la Port.....	10 miles
To River Owisconsin.....	10 miles
To Prairie du Chien.....	6 miles
To Painted Rock.....	9 miles
To Cape Winebegoes.....	18 miles
To Cape a' l' All Sauvage.....	10 miles
To Upper River Yawoha.....	19 miles

Beltrami's Map names the Des Moines river "Monk R"; the Skunk, "Polecat R"; the Iowa, "Yawoha R"; the Upper Iowa, "Upper Yawowa R."

MODEL JUSTICE.—We have in this county a Justice of the Peace, who might well be a model for all justices. In a recent suit, after giving his judgment, he made the parties agree to go home and never bring another, in consideration of which he induced the witnesses to throw in their costs and gave in his own.—*Bellevue Democrat*, May 7, 1851.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON is not only the most eminent citizen in the south; he is teaching the whole country some lessons in a new sort of good breeding based on the scriptural description of charity, which vaunteth not itself, endureth all things, seeketh not its own, and does not behave itself unseemly.—*Topeka Capital*.

MY BOYHOOD RECOLLECTIONS OF THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS.

BY CHARLES A. WHITE.

Perhaps none of the laws which have been enacted by Congress for the regulation of our dealings with the Indians is now more rigidly enforced than are those which relate to the sale of intoxicating liquors; but for several years after the first settlements were made in Iowa business relations with them were controlled by no such laws. The Indians' thirst for whiskey was irresistible, and no small part of the stock of every trader upon the frontier was devoted to supplying this demand. Indeed, so little was the public conscience then aroused upon this subject that the bottle was a potent and deliberately used influence in overreaching the Indians and its presence, even in treaty assemblies, has been publicly rumored. That rumor accorded with Black Hawk's claim, as a justification of the relentless war which he waged against the whites, that the chiefs of his tribe had been made drunk when they signed the treaty of 1804 ceding to the United States an aggregate of more than twenty-two thousand square miles of land in what are now the states of Missouri, Illinois and Wisconsin; and I am not aware that this accusation was ever disproved. That the Indian signers of that treaty were then drunk seems probable from the fact that they accepted the paltry compensation which was given them, namely, less than twenty-three hundred dollars in hand and an annual payment to the double tribe of one thousand dollars, all in goods. Black Hawk was a savage, and should be judged as such, but judged righteously; which I believe has not always been done. Even if the contemporary popular reports of his atrocities in war and of his drunkenness after his defeat and humiliation were true, which I neither affirm nor deny, I think there is reason to believe that no more patriotic, no braver or more skillful Indian warrior ever led his people to battle or protected them in defeat. The ear-

lier recollections of my childhood are connected with popular stories of his savagery, but my subsequent personal contact with his people, the combined Sac* and Fox tribes, was more suggestive of comedy than of tragedy. It was in 1838, the year in which he died and only six years after the close of the war which is still called by his name, that I went with my father's family to live at Burlington, then the principal town on the Upper Mississippi. At that time one portion of the tribe occupied a tract of land bordering the Iowa river, and another portion dwelt on a tract bordering the Des Moines river, where Black Hawk ended his days. The following remarks are a result of my observations of those Indians, made as a boy of from twelve to sixteen years, and of the life-long impression which they left upon me.

For several years after the date which I have mentioned parties of the Iowa river division came frequently to trade at Burlington, making the whole journey and return in dug-out canoes of their own construction. Their usual camping-place was just above the town and as it was not far from my home I often went there to observe their native customs as well as some of those which had been modified through their contact with the whites. Unfortunately I had little opportunity to observe their virtues and the greater part of what I have to relate pertains to the vice of whiskey-drinking, already referred to. This vice they readily learned from the whites while they were slow to adopt any advantage which civilization offered unless it harmonized with their native customs. For example, because I shall mention their use of iron implements and utensils it is proper to remark that although they discarded rude pottery, flint and bone for industrial uses, they only adapted the more efficient iron to such uses in accordance with their ancient customs, with no wish

*I remember that, in answer to inquiries by white men, I often heard these Indians pronounce their tribal name as if it were written Saw-kee, but I do not know whether that was their own pronunciation or their attempt to give the pronunciation of the white man. In the text of the treaty of 1804, just referred to, it was written "Sauke."

or thought of thereby adopting any custom of the white man. But to return to our visitors. In summer time, when the river was low, they sometimes camped upon the gravelly beach, with little shelter; but in cooler weather they pitched their wickeups on the lower end of Flint island just above the northern boundary of the town, or upon the bottom land of the nearer side of Flint slough, which separated the island from the mainland. Except in times of flood this slough, or secondary river channel, was not much more than a canoe-length wide, and the lower portion of it was long ago obliterated by that primary instrument of urban improvement, the dump cart.

Their wickeups were sometimes covered with skins and later with strong cotton cloth, but when I first saw their camps the wickeup covering was sometimes of elm or cottonwood bark, which was taken from the trees in spring time, when the sap began to flow. I once witnessed the whole of this process of house building and often saw dead trees still standing that had been thus denuded. The women did this work and when the party reached the camping-place some of them, each with her hand ax, attacked the trees, cutting the bark into proper lengths by making rows of doubly oblique strokes around the trunk. The bark was then removed in sheets by means of the axes and rude wooden wedges. Every sheet when thus removed had notches along each end like huge saw teeth, which were made by the ax cuts. Meantime other women were busy with their axes and knives making the frame of slender willow or cottonwood poles. One of them drove a short stick into the ground for a center, doubled and stretched a string over it, gathered the loose ends in her left hand at the desired length for a radius and then, walking backward with another short stick in her right hand, she marked a perfect circle for the ground plan of her house. The poles were thrust into the soft ground upon this circle and their tips tied together at the top of the structure with strips of bast. The poles were then stayed by tying

withes horizontally upon them at the proper distances apart to support the sheets of bark to which the latter were tied with strips of bast or slender withes. They were placed with the grain perpendicular upon the frame and lapped to shed the rain, the notched edges giving a rude appearance of neatness to the wickeup. A hole was left at the top for the escape of smoke and another at one side for the entrance, when the conical or dome-shaped house was finished and ready for occupancy. When the party went away the bark was taken down and packed in their canoes for future use.

That case of house building occurred on the lower end of Flint island, but I was obliged to witness it from the mainland shore several rods away, although I was usually allowed to inspect their camping operations at will. The water in the slough was not deep, but the soft mud at the bottom and shores was, and I could not therefore wade across. The Indians kept their canoes moored to the island side and when they went to town one of the women camp-keepers would push a canoe load of passengers across and pull the empty canoe back by its painter. Members of the party were ferried back to camp in the same manner, but as I had no ticket of invitation I had to content myself with perching upon a big rock which had fallen down from the adjacent bluff. From that point of observation I saw everything clearly and did not get in the way of the workers.

The wickeup of these people was not a dwelling house in our sense of that term. It was a temporary store house for the protection of their goods and a place in which to sleep at night; and also a place wherein to sleep off their drunks, in which debauches the women often joined the men. The cooking and other ordinary work of the camp was done in the open air and I often witnessed those operations. Their food was mostly the game, which they easily procured in that region, supplemented by a little meal or flour obtained by trade. Their cookery was usually a boiling of their food in sheet iron camp kettles. On one occasion I saw the women pre-

pare what the party evidently regarded as a royal tortoise stew. In summer time, when the falling of the water in the rivers expose the sand bars, the female soft-shelled tortoise comes out to deposit her eggs and cover them with sand, leaving them to be hatched by the sun's rays. Each one deposits a large number of spherical eggs which measure about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The animal's tracks will usually betray the place where the eggs are deposited; and by lying in wait and running quickly one may catch the tortoise also. On the occasion referred to the tortoise hunters of the party had been very successful, and when I reached their camp a woman had just set out a water bucket nearly full of boiled eggs, which the others began to devour greedily without salt. This mess of eggs was merely an entree, for another woman was busy cutting up several large tortoises for the principal meal. Although the supply was so abundant she was no more wasteful of her material than a Washington chef would be when making terrapin stew. She put into the kettle everything, skin, shell, meat and bones, and even added the entrails after she had passed them between her fingers to remove their surplus contents. I did not stay to dinner. Perhaps I should not have done so if I had been invited, for I do not even eat the chitterlings that are found in the Washington markets. I was told that their muskrat stews were very good but I never tried them for myself, although I was then a boy and much given to gastronomical experiments.

In the years of which I write Burlington had a growing population of from 400 to 1,000 white settlers. The principal business was then done in a few low, one-story, unplastered log houses on the river front between Columbia and Arch streets, but after that time Jefferson became the principal business street. The most valuable articles for trade which the Indians brought to town were furs and peltries. The articles they most desired to obtain were calicoes and other cotton cloths, powder and lead and—whiskey. The govern-

ment furnished them with most of their blankets according to treaty agreement; the cloths, powder and lead were also necessaries, but whiskey was a luxury which few of them were willing to dispense with. The eastern market prices of furs were then low compared with those which afterward prevailed, and the traders made it a rule to give the Indians as little as possible for them. Whiskey also was then very cheap, for the Internal Revenue collector was then unknown. I remember once to have seen it quoted in a St. Louis paper at seventeen cents a gallon by the barrel. The Indians knew all this and would cheat the traders if they got a chance, which was not often. One of their tricks is worth relating as illustrating certain characteristics of both traders and Indians. In one of the trading houses the proprietor had laid some boards, to form a loft under the roof, upon the cross-beams which were only a little above the head of a man of ordinary stature, and as he bought the furs he threw them up there to remain until he had time to pack them. This the Indians also knew, as well as the fact that the whiskey barrel was kept in the back room. One day two Indians came in, one of them having a fine mink skin and an empty pint bottle under his blanket. These he produced and offered the skin for the bottle full of whiskey. The trader readily agreed because a pint of whiskey cost him not more than three cents net. He threw the skin upon the loft and went back to fill the bottle followed by Indian number 1, to see that the whiskey was not watered when it was drawn. Indian number 2 remained in the front room ostensibly to wait for his companion, but really to reach up and pull down that mink skin. When the trader and number 1 returned, number 2 asked to sample the whiskey, which his companion readily allowed. Finding it satisfactory he also produced a fine mink skin and bottle for a similar trade. This was done and the two friends departed, each with a bottle of whiskey at the expense of one mink skin for both.

The taste for whiskey and the comparative ease with which

those Indians could obtain it had, with few exceptions, a demoralizing effect upon the whole tribe; and the parties who visited Burlington would frequently hold deliberately planned and carefully executed drunks. They would take a quantity of whiskey to camp and appoint at least one woman to remain sober and care for the drunken members, after which she would herself take a solitary spree. The first act of the amazonian guard was to disarm all the others before they began to drink and to see that no weapons were within their reach. Her insignia of office were a stout hickory stick and a bunch of buckskin thongs. The first was to whack the unruly ones and the second to tie their hands and feet if necessary. The men of course opened the carousal and as they began to stretch themselves upon the ground the women, if there were others beside the guard, followed their lords and were soon as drunk as they. It is to their credit that I never saw a child among them on such occasions. They usually had the decency also to hold their orgies in their wickeups, but following is a brief account of one which I witnessed in the summer of 1840 in the open air.

A party of four men and three women had camped without a wickeup just above the present junction of Main and Water streets. It was toward nightfall and the party had returned from their visit to town bringing their whiskey in a tin water bucket. This they had placed upon the ground with several half-pint tin cups around it, and the drunk was in full blast when I reached the place. Indeed, it had passed its culmination, for all the men were lying upon the ground dead drunk. An elderly woman was on guard and of course perfectly sober. The two other women had begun their part in the debauch and were sitting upon a stone, each with her cup of whiskey in hand and each with an arm around the other. They were sipping the liquor and singing a maudlin chant with beaming faces. I went near to get a full view of the show and was angrily ordered away by the guard. I thought it prudent to go, but I only climbed the bank close by,

which was ten or twelve feet above the party, and that position gave me a better view than I had before. The guard continued to scold and threw stones at me. She could throw better than the average woman, but she did not hit me nor scare me away, although I was the only outsider present. Besides that, her attention was just then required by one of the men who had crawled up to the bucket to get another drink. She did not molest him for this, but when he arose and staggered muttering toward the pile of guns and knives which she had laid aside for safety, she hit him on the head with her stick and he dropped quietly to the ground. The other men were too drunk to get up, but as one of them was trying to do so she had to tie him; and she was otherwise kept too busy to mind me. Meantime the two other women were "gettin' fou and unco happy." In fact they were already full and there was yet nearly a quart of whiskey before them in the bucket. Moved as by a common impulse each thrust an index finger into her fauces and the immediate result was complete relief of the distended stomach. The suddenness of the relief seemed to daze them for a few minutes but they then returned to their cups and were drinking and singing again when I left them.

During the few years in which those Indians continued their visits to Burlington I witnessed many other incidents illustrative of their wanton habits, the full significance of some of which I did not then clearly perceive. It is my purpose to confine this record of incidents to my boyhood recollections, which are still very distinct, but I may say that in recalling those scenes in after years I fail to recognize that they offered any encouragement for hope of future improvement. Indeed, the article in *THE ANNALS* for October, 1899, by Hon. A. D. Bicknell, depicting the present condition of the remnant of the Iowa division of the tribe, which still lives there, shows that they have not only retained all their old antipathy to the civilization of the white man, but that they have really undergone degeneration from their

primitive condition. These are sad facts for the philanthropist, but let it be understood that the foregoing remarks are made only with reference to the parties which were observed by myself and to their successors which were discussed by Mr. Bicknell.

The laws which Congress finally enacted prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians were themselves an open acknowledgment of the former destructive prevalence of the drink evil among them, but it is just to our people to say that the times were then largely at fault, and that the national conscience is now cleaner than formerly in this respect. Repugnant as were such drinking practices as I have just described, they were probably no worse than those which prevailed among our own ancestors and, within the memory of persons now living, among otherwise respectable white men in connection with some of their social functions. It should further be said to the credit of the Indians of former years that although some of their prominent men, especially after their subjugation and humiliation, indulged in drunkenness others tried hard to induce their people to abandon the use of liquor. I remember, for example, that at the close of a council which Governor Lucas held in Old Zion church at Burlington a war-dance was given by a party of Sac and Fox braves as an entertainment to the whites and at the request of the latter. At its close the performers received a liberal contribution and Chief Hard-fish made a speech thanking the donors and vehemently advising the braves not to spend a picayune of it for whiskey. Those former days were pregnant with promise of human improvement, since largely fulfilled as regards the white man, but they were not better than these.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, December 5, 1902.

ANNALS OF IOWA.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

MR. COFFIN'S GREAT REFORMS.

It is known to tens of thousands of people in every State of the Union how earnestly Hon. L. S. Coffin, of Webster county, labored for years to secure legislation which would compel the adoption of safety appliances in coupling cars and running trains on the railroads, and thus prevent the immense suffering and loss of life which had long been visited upon the poor brakemen. The number of casualties were known to have amounted throughout the United States, to from 20,000 to 30,000 per year. The clumsy and antiquated devices by which cars were coupled together, and running trains brought to a stop, had been in use, with little or no improvement, since the early days of railroading. How he studied the subject for several years, and brought about one of the noblest reforms ever projected by an American citizen, he tells in the article from his pen which appears in this number of *THE ANNALS*. Mr. Coffin is now close upon eighty years of age. He writes from memory of these events which occurred years ago, and if any inaccuracies appear, they are due to the lapse of time. His intention has been to adhere strictly to the truth. His statements bear that stamp most unmistakeably, and that he can tell the story more faithfully than any other living man will not be questioned by any of his thousands of acquaintances and friends. The preparation of this article by Mr. Coffin, the leading actor in this great movement for the prevention of suffering and the saving of human lives, was undertaken by the advice of his friends in Iowa and other states. It is not only highly interesting but it adds important pages to the history of our times. Mr. Coffin tells the story of a struggle of years—

how he traveled up and down throughout the country, writing for the newspapers and periodicals, addressing large audiences, and urging state legislatures to memorialize Congress, until public sentiment was largely in favor of the proposition and the reform made possible. The Iowa legislature had passed his bill, but this only made more fully apparent the absolute need of a general law which would secure uniformity in all the states. He therefore went to Washington and brought the subject to the attention of Congress. Here, after a severe contest his bill became the law of the nation. The fight was a long and severe one, and he had arrayed against him some of the most powerful influences of the time. He generously gives to Senator Allison and Speaker Henderson, from our State, credit for some most efficient work in winning the grand success. They stood by the measure from first to last.

It is true that the subject of safety appliances on railroad trains had received attention before Mr. Coffin became interested in the work. State laws had been passed by Connecticut as early as 1882, and later by Massachusetts, New York and Michigan. But these laws, being only of local application, had not been enforced. Practically, they were dead letters. The subject had also become one of much interest and discussion at the annual meetings of the Master Car Builders' Association. In May, 1889, a circular was issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission to the various Railroad Commissions for the purpose of securing their views in this important matter. Nineteen states responded. The third annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission (1889), gives a detailed account of this agitation and discussion. Mr. Coffin fully recognizes the work done, the substantial help given, and the stand taken by the states that had acted on this matter, and by the Interstate Commerce Commission. But it was through his efforts that public sentiment was finally aroused throughout the country and the work pushed to a successful issue—the bill passed by Congress and practical results secured.

It should be a matter of pride to all intelligent and justice-loving Iowa people that this important and most philanthropic measure will always be identified with the name of an Iowa man, and that its incorporation into the laws of the nation was due to the efforts of one of our citizens—an Iowa farmer.

This great measure was no sooner safely placed upon the statute book than Mr. Coffin started another humane movement, which though of far less scope and importance, is yet one of the most commendable works of Christian benevolence. It is known to all readers that beyond the pittance of a suit of clothes and five dollars in money, the State makes no provision for the benefit of convicts discharged from our penitentiaries. They are turned out upon the world destitute, discredited and distrusted, with poor prospects confronting them. It is little wonder that so many of them, from the cold neglect with which they are treated, drift back into crime to be soon returned to the penitentiaries. Mr. Coffin is of the opinion that a large majority of these men, if given a helping hand when they leave the prison walls, can be saved to society and to themselves, and become good citizens. In carrying out this idea he has erected a beautiful and commodious home—"Hope Hall, No. 3"—on his well known Willow Edge Farm, three miles west of Ft. Dodge. The purpose of this home is to give the ex-prisoner a temporary resting-place, surrounded by good influences, until employment can be secured for him.

This home has been erected from funds contributed almost wholly by Mr. Coffin, though he has had timely and important aid from many of the good citizens of Ft. Dodge and others. It is patterned after a similar enterprise—"Hope Hall, No. 1"—at Flushing, N. Y., and another—"Hope Hall, No. 2"—at Chicago. These institutions were projected and built, and are under the successful management of Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth, whose writings and eloquence on the rostrum have made her name a household word throughout the country. "Hope Hall No. 3" was ded-

icated by Mrs. Booth on the 24th day of October, 1902. It is not expected to be open for the reception of ex-prisoners before the coming spring.

THE IOWA HISTORICAL RECORD.

A printed slip in the October number of *The Iowa Historical Record* announced the discontinuance of that periodical. It is to be succeeded this month (January, 1903) by a new quarterly magazine under the title of *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. *The Record* has been published by the Iowa State Historical Society since January, 1885. Its successor, like *The Record*, will appear under the auspices of the Society. *The Record*, while its support has never been adequate to its merits, or sufficient to justify any but the most meager expenditures in placing it before the public, will be greatly missed by all who have read it from its commencement. Its eighteen volumes are a most valuable repository of the materials of Iowa history. It contains the writings of many of our representative men of the time during which it was published, the most of whom have passed away or removed to other regions. What they have contributed to its pages will remain an imperishable monument to their memories. The Iowa library which has secured and carefully preserved the volumes of *The Record* may be considered very fortunate, for they will long be consulted by the students of Iowa history.

The most flattering prospects would seem to greet the new periodical at the outset of its career. It will have abundant materials for its pages in the researches and writings of historical scholars in this State and elsewhere. The last legislature generously provided the Society with funds adequate to its needs. These forecasts of prosperity are very largely due to the untiring efforts of Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, who is to be congratulated upon the distinguished success he has fairly won.

THE PORTRAIT OF DR. WILLIAM SALTER.

One of the most pleasing events that has ever transpired in the State Historical Department, was the public presentation to the State, November 24, 1902, of a fine oil portrait of this illustrious clergyman and author, of the city of Burlington. Few other men of his sacred calling, in any State of the Union, have ever come to occupy so high a place in the esteem and affection of the people throughout a wide acquaintance. It is most appropriate that his portrait should occupy a place of honor in the State Historical Art Gallery. The movement through which this portrait was secured was due to the efforts of Hon. Messrs. Frank Springer, of Las Vegas, N. M., and Philip M. Crapo, of Burlington. The other donors were Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Squires, Mr. and Mrs. William Carson, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hedge, Mr. and Mrs. H. S. Rand, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Higbee, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Blythe, and Mr. and Mrs. Lasell.

The following gentlemen from the city of Burlington were in attendance at the presentation: Rev. Robert L. Marsh, Rev. Ludwig Holmes, J. R. Nairn, J. F. Segner, F. A. Millard, Robert Donahue, Luke Palmer, S. P. Gilbert, George B. Salter, and Philip M. Crapo. Arthur Springer, of Columbus Junction, and Hon. Frank Springer, of Las Vegas, N. M., were also in attendance.

Rev. Dr. A. L. Frisbie, of Des Moines, kindly consented to preside. In taking the chair he paid a brief but most appreciative tribute to the life-work of Rev. Dr. Salter, his long time co-laborer in the Congregational Church of Iowa, and introduced Hon. Frank Springer, who spoke as follows:

It is a kindly maxim, born of the generous instincts of human nature, that we shall say nothing but good of those who are dead. It lends a melancholy pleasure to our memorial occasions, and often imparts to our thoughts at such times a kindness and charity which we do not always feel toward our fellow men, amid the asperities and harsh contentions of every day life. When, however, there is found one living, and who has lived long:

among us, of whom, by the common consent of all who have ever known him, nothing but good can be said, the impulse to do him honor may well touch even a tenderer chord, so that for the moment we may be possessed by the finer emotions of our natures, to which it would be well indeed if we yielded ourselves more often. And it is not strange that at such a time we should desire by committing to the State on enduring canvas a just delineation of his features to signify our appreciation of a character like this without waiting for the signal of the grim messenger to remind us that the time for doing justice is at hand.

It does not require the softening touch of time nor the chastening hand of death to round off the career of William Salter, so that we may justly characterize or fittingly commemorate it. His sixty years of citizenship in the State, marshaling for us their memories of a blameless life, come forward as witnesses, and we point to them as the reasons why we are here today.

I do not deem this a time for extended eulogy or biography of this good man. Coming to Iowa in 1843 and settling shortly afterward in Burlington as a minister of the gospel, he has remained in the pulpit which he adorned for over fifty years. And now, in the evening of a grand and useful life, when the shadows are beginning to lengthen, and while he looks with calmness upon the low descending sun, he is engaged in finishing, in the vigor of an intellect which his eighty years have scarcely dimmed, and with all the enthusiasm of earlier days, a history of the State he has loved and honored so long.

His life, spent in the pursuit and practice of his sacred calling, has necessarily been quiet and uneventful. And yet it spans the period during which this State was transformed from a primeval wilderness into the imperial commonwealth we behold it now. It represents the history of Iowa. He was a part of it; he helped to make it, and he is better qualified to relate it for the benefit of those coming after than any man now living.

We are apt to forget, in the rush and stress of a busy life, that we are making history as we go along. And those who have borne a part in the building of this marvelous commonwealth of yours can render no greater service to the young generation to which they have transmitted it than to leave their own memorials of the times through which they have lived. By no other means can the youth of this day gain so true a conception of the mighty work of the fathers, or of the transcendent grandeur of their own State.

Great not merely in her wondrous resources and amazing progress, in the matchless fertility of her soil, in her schools and her charities, in the patriotism and heroic records of her citizens, but because, with her rural population, full of intelligence, thought and calm reflection, and with her freedom from the curse of large cities, she represents more nearly than any other community on this continent, the genius of republican institutions. Small wonder that she holds today such weighty influence in the councils and policies of the nation, or that presidents, when they want to

feel the pulse of public sentiment, should make pilgrimages to her borders and get in speaking distance of her people.

These reflections may seem not quite in keeping with the spirit of this occasion, but they come unbidden in the presence of these reminders of the men who made this splendid community. And, besides, much may be excused to one whom the chances of life, in early manhood, led into other fields, but who, after having borne an humble part in the building up of another community, and having also seen somewhat of the best that man and nature have done elsewhere, both at home and abroad, still counts as among the most valued of all his possessions his birthright in this great State.

As for eulogy, it would be difficult to portray in words the deep and abiding affection which exists for this venerable man in the hearts of those to whom and to whose people he has ministered, in their joys and in their sorrows, for more than half a century. I speak not merely of those who were members of his own congregation. His influence and his good works were never confined to such narrow limits. He belonged to the people of Iowa. Wherever there were wounded hearts to heal, or darkened souls to be cheered by the light of hope; wherever the poor in spirit were to be comforted; wherever the friendless needed recognition or encouragement—there he was found. What their creed was he never stopped to inquire.

In the times that tried our souls, when the sons of Iowa were offering their lives that the nation might live, he went into the field, preaching the gospel of patriotism, fortitude and good cheer to our heroes at the front. In war and in peace, to the camp and to the hearthstone, he has brought to grateful thousands of Iowa's best and noblest sons and daughters the consolations not only of religion but of a charity not bounded by any church or creed, but broad as the precepts of his Divine Master. There is scarcely a family in southeastern Iowa, among the pioneers who builded the State, and their descendants to whom, at some time and in some way, his words have not been a comfort and his presence a benediction.

Foremost in all good works; a friend of liberal education; a promoter of learning in its broadest sense; an outspoken champion of right principles wherever right and wrong joined issue—his example has been a blessing to his fellow men and his life an honor to the State.

As a slight evidence of the affection and honor in which they hold him, the citizens of Burlington have caused to be executed a faithful portrait of Dr. Salter as he appears today. No eulogy that I could pronounce would be half so eloquent or significant as this testimonial, coming as it does from his fellow citizens, who claim him as peculiarly their own. The donors of this picture have delegated to me the pleasing office of presenting it to the State. I esteem it a high privilege and an honor to be thus associated with them, and in their company to feel myself, for the moment, a citizen of Iowa again.

And therefore, sir (to Gov. A. B. Cummins), on behalf of the people of Burlington, and of the thousands of others who will be gratified by the

event, I tender this portrait for your acceptance as the property of the State, hoping that it may find a worthy place in this pantheon of her great men.

The portrait was draped with the beautiful Henderson flag which was slowly lowered by Hon. Philip M. Crapo at the conclusion of Mr. Springer's appropriate address. In a few well chosen remarks the gift was accepted by Gov. A. B. Cummins, who paid high tribute to the venerable clergyman, who is so widely known even far beyond the boundaries of Iowa. He quoted Dr. Frank W. Gunsaulus to the effect that the people of this State combined more of the qualities of good citizenship than those of any other State in the Union. "This," said the Governor, "was due to the Rev. Dr. Salter and his associates in the pioneer period of the State. . . . I believe the men and women of this generation ought to be forever grateful for the instruction, the spirit that has come down to us from former times. It is fitting that we should express in the manner we are doing today the gratitude that must fill every loyal heart."

At the conclusion of the Governor's remarks letters of regret were read from U. S. Senator W. B. Allison, the reverend and venerable Ephraim Adams, of Waterloo, Hon. Eugene Secor, of Forest City, Hon. Thomas Hedge, of Burlington, Maj. Hoyt Sherman, of Des Moines, Judge W. I. Babb, of Mt. Pleasant, and other distinguished persons.

GENERALS DODGE AND WILLIAMSON.

None of the surviving soldiers of the civil war have ever surpassed Gen. G. M. Dodge in sincere sympathy for his comrades who have passed on before. Not long ago we saw him organize and carry out an effort to honor the memory of Col. W. H. Kinsman, and just now he has paid a splendid tribute to the late Gen. James A. Williamson. This last is in the form of a memoir of that distinguished Iowa soldier, which filled many columns in *The Des Moines Daily Regis-*

ter and Leader of December 14 and 21, 1902. It is an elaborate and sympathetic account of Williamson's career from his muster into the Fourth Iowa Infantry to the day of his death. This is also to be reproduced in a beautiful pamphlet, of which every member of the old command will receive a copy. Gen. Dodge has written many papers, addresses and reports, but we have never read anything better from his pen. He wrote from the fullest information and in deep sympathy with his old comrade-in-arms. We trust that by some means this concise record of the career of one of our bravest Iowa soldiers and noblest men may have a wide circulation in our State.

JUDGE DILLON'S LAW PUBLICATIONS.

The following is the authentic bibliography of the law writings of the Honorable John F. Dillon, who was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of this State in 1863, for the term of six years. He was re-elected, but before taking the oath of office, was appointed Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, for the Eighth Judicial District, serving from 1869 until 1879, when he resigned. He was professor of real estate and equity jurisprudence in Columbia Law School from 1879 until 1882. Since the last date he has practiced law in New York City. Judge Dillon's works have met with a large sale in the city of London—where, in fact, some editions were published—and elsewhere throughout the United Kingdom. In this country they were recognized as standard legal authorities at once upon their publication, and repeated editions have been called for by the profession. Judge Dillon is also the author of many pamphlets on legal and historical topics, and of one of the most tasteful memorial volumes that has appeared in this country. This last was published in memory of his wife and daughter, who were lost at sea, July 4, 1898.

NEW YORK, October 24, 1900.

Hon. Charles Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.

MY DEAR SIR: Referring to your letter of May 11, in which you asked me if I had ever prepared a bibliography of my writings, and that, if so, you would be glad to receive a copy, I beg to state that my published writings in book form are as follows:

1. "Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Iowa, from the organization of the Court in 1839, to 1860;" published 1860 by Luse, Lane & Company, Davenport.
2. Five volumes of "Cases Determined in the United States Circuit Courts for the Eighth Circuit:"
 Volume 1, 1870-71, published 1871 by Griggs, Watson & Day, Davenport;
 Volume 2, 1871-73, published 1873 by Day, Egbert & Fidler, Davenport;
 Volume 3, 1873-76, published 1876 by Day, Egbert & Fidler, Davenport;
 Volume 4, 1876-78, published 1878 by Egbert, Fidler & Chambers, Davenport;
 Volume 5, 1879-80, published 1880 by Egbert, Fidler & Chambers, Davenport.
3. "Treatise on the Law of Municipal Corporations:"
 1st edition published in 1872 by James Cockcroft & Company, Chicago, and Griggs, Watson & Day, Davenport;
 2nd edition published in 1873 by James Cockcroft & Company, New York;
 3rd edition published in 1881 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston;
 4th edition published in 1890 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston.
4. "Removal of Causes from State Courts to Federal Courts, with forms adapted to the several Acts of Congress on the subject;"
 1st edition published in 1875 by the Central Law Journal, St. Louis;
 2nd edition published in 1877 by the Central Law Journal, St. Louis;
 3rd edition published in 1881 by William H. Stevenson, St. Louis.
5. "Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America; being a series of lectures delivered before Yale University;" published in 1895 by Little, Brown & Company, Boston.

I have no extra copies of any of these works except the fourth edition of "Dillon on Municipal Corporations" and my book on "Laws and Jurisprudence." I take pleasure in sending you by express today copies of these books, which I shall be glad to have placed in the Historical Department of Iowa.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN F. DILLON.

THE LENGTH of the leading articles in this number of THE ANNALS has made it necessary to omit several which had been prepared for its pages, but for which we hope to find room hereafter.

NOTABLE DEATHS.

MOSES M. HAM was born in the town of Shopleigh, York county, Maine, March 23, 1833; he died at Dubuque, Iowa, Dec. 25, 1902. Mr. Ham came of revolutionary stock. His ancestors bore an honorable part in the colonial and revolutionary wars and the war of 1812. He was educated at the Collegiate Seminary at Carysville, and at Oneida College, Schenectady, N. Y. He graduated at the last named institution in 1855. Migrating westward he first settled in Jonesville, Mich., where he became principal of the public schools which place he held for two years, at the expiration of which time he began his career in journalism. He secured a position on *The Detroit Free Press*, of which Wilbur F. Story (afterwards of *The Chicago Times*) was the editor. He entered the military service in the war for the Union, and was for a short time adjutant of a Michigan regiment, though he saw no active service. He remained with *The Free Press* until 1863, when he removed to Dubuque and secured an interest in *The Herald* of that city. He was first associated with Stillson Hutchins and Patrick Robb. Two years later Mr. Robb died and Mr. Hutchins removed to Washington, D. C. Mr. D. D. W. Carver, who had been associated with A. B. F. Hildreth in *The Charles City Intelligencer*, then became a joint partner with him in the proprietorship of *The Herald*. Mr. Ham from this time was the editor of *The Herald* "for thirty-five years without a break." It became under his editorial management, one of the foremost democratic papers in the State. It was able and enterprising in all its departments, but especially in its commercial reports. Mr. Ham occupied a high position in the councils of his party, not alone in Iowa, but in the nation, serving as delegate in its national conventions and as a member of its national committees. He enjoyed the confidence of Samuel J. Tilden and President Cleveland. He was tendered the appointment of assistant postmaster general by the latter, which he declined for business reasons. He accepted the position of postmaster of Dubuque, which he held eight years. He served a term as state senator, and as trustee or regent of the State University several years, and long as a member of the local board of education. He was a tireless worker, who gave all his energies to whatever task his hands or head found to do, a vigorous, able and versatile editor. No man in his city enjoyed in a higher degree the personal respect and confidence of those who knew him well. Several years ago he became a victim of that fell disease known as locomotor ataxia, which resulted in paralysis of his lower limbs. He was unable to move about except in an invalid's chair. But until a short time before the end came his mind was bright and clear and he continued to write for the public press. Two of his articles relating to the early history of Dubuque were prepared for and appeared in this magazine. He and Mr. Carver presented to the Historical Department of Iowa a file of *The Herald* for more than forty years, a gift which will always be esteemed as of great value by the students of Iowa history.

MARTIN TUTTLE was born in Monroe county, Ohio, Nov. 27, 1824; he died in Des Moines, Nov. 9, 1902. He was the son of James and Esther Crow Tuttle; his father born in Kennebunk Port, Maine; his mother of Pennsylvania German-Quaker stock. He was a younger brother of General James Madison Tuttle, the hero of Fort Donelson. Their earliest ancestor in America, John Tuttle, arrived in Boston in the ship Planter, 1635. Martin Tuttle married Miss Mary George, of Fayetteville, Ind., March 7, 1849, and soon removed to Farmington, Iowa. Their children are Alice, Mrs. W. W. Baldwin, of Burlington; Georgia, Mrs. John H. Drabelle, of St. Louis; Charles, deceased 1901; Sarah, Mrs. Francis F. Connor, of Bur-

lington; James, of San Francisco; Mary, Mrs. George B. Salter, of Burlington; John, of Chicago. The mother died in February, 1870, and in August, 1872, Mr. Tuttle married Mrs. Harriet Moulton Battelle, mother of Mr. Will Battelle. Mr. Tuttle was a merchant in Farmington until 1860, when he removed to Des Moines, and established himself in business with his father on Court Avenue in the Sherman block. A Democrat of the old school, he was elected mayor in 1874. Of a well balanced mind, a poised judgment, and a friendly nature, his industry, enterprise, and fair dealing won him general confidence and a warm place in the hearts of his fellow citizens as a man of solid worth, reliable in all circumstances. He was president of the Central State Bank of Des Moines, and a director of the Peoples Savings Bank. As an American citizen, justice and equal laws were his political ideals of human society and the State, and upon these foundations he did his part with other pioneers of like character in building up Iowa and the Capital City to the prosperity and fame they have reached.

ORLANDO G. TREMAINE was born at Oconomowoc, Wis., Nov. 21, 1854; he died in the hospital at Wauwatose, Wis., whither he had been taken for treatment, Nov. 12, 1902. He was the second son of the late Hon. Ira H. Tremaine, of Hamilton county, Iowa. He came to this State with his parents in 1867, the family settling upon a farm six miles south of Webster City. He was educated at the Iowa State University, and at Hahnemann (Homœopathic) Medical College in Chicago. After his graduation he located at Ida Grove, Iowa, for the practice of his profession, where he achieved a brilliant success. He was always a growing man, attracting wide attention not only by his successful practice but by his writings and original investigations and experiments. He became eminent in his profession. In the autumn of 1893 he was elected to a professorship in Hahnemann Medical College, which he filled acceptably for four years, when he resigned and returned to the practice of his profession at Webster City. He succeeded admirably as a practitioner until about the year 1898, when he contracted a serious illness from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He resumed his college work in January, 1900, but was compelled to return to his Iowa home the following spring much reduced in health. After that he gradually declined until the end came. From his boyhood days he had been an active and useful member of the Presbyterian Church. Skilled in his profession, useful in his church, and highly esteemed wherever he was known, his premature death was a sad loss to the community in which he had grown to manhood.

LEWIS W. ROSS was born in Hanover township, Butler county, Ohio, Oct. 15, 1827; he died at Council Bluffs, Iowa, Nov. 22, 1902. Mr. Ross entered Farmers College in his native state in May, 1848, remaining until 1850, when he changed to Miami University, where he graduated in 1852. He settled in Cass county, Iowa, in 1856, removing to Council Bluffs in 1861, which became his permanent home. He was elected State Senator in 1863, from the district composed of the counties of Fremont, Mills, Cass and Pottawattamie, serving four years. As a legislator he ranked with the first. He was elected a trustee of the State University in 1864, and re-elected in 1868. In 1874 he was chosen to the board of regents of that institution for the term of six years. In 1880 he was made a resident professor in the law school, and the following year was promoted to the office of chancellor of the law department. He was largely instrumental in organizing and establishing the law, medical and homœopathic medical departments. He was author of "An Outline of Common Law and Code Pleading," and "An Outline of the Law of Real Property." He ranked high as an equity and real estate lawyer. Chancellor Ross was an honored member

of the Iowa Pioneer Law Makers Association, and was always in attendance upon its biennial meetings. He took a deep interest in the State historical department, and gave it words of the heartiest approval and encouragement from the first. Says Congressman Walter I. Smith, "He was an ideal lawyer, a conscientious citizen, and a man of unusually clean life and character."

The venerable and revered Father Philip Laurent was born near Dijon, France, Feb. 23, 1828; he died at his old home across the sea, Dec. 3, 1902. Father Laurent was educated for the Catholic priesthood in his native place, in the old city of Autun, at Plombieres, at Troyes and at Paris. He became acquainted with Matthias Loras the first Bishop of Dubuque, whose cordial and repeated invitations to come to the new State of Iowa the young student accepted. He was ordained in Dubuque in 1851, and sent to Muscatine where he took charge of the old St. Matthias congregation. It was with this people mainly that he spent his days, though he taught awhile in the Catholic Seminary a few miles west of Dubuque, and performed missionary work in several other localities in Iowa. He was with his congregation fifty years, during which time "he erected a beautiful church edifice, school houses, and homes for pastor and sisters." These are his monuments. Father Laurent was equally beloved and respected by Catholics and Protestants, and educators and professional people were his warm friends. Seldom, if ever, has the press of Muscatine paid such high tributes to one called hence. After a life of the highest usefulness in a foreign land, the good priest while visiting at his old home was called to his final rest. It was understood that he desired to return and end his days at Muscatine. As one of the earliest and foremost of the missionary priests who came to this region, he will occupy a prominent place in the history of the Catholic Church of Iowa.

JOHN FITCH KINNEY was born in New Haven, N. Y., April 2, 1816; he died at San Diego, California, Aug. 16, 1902. After receiving his school and college education he studied law, settling at Marysville, Ohio, where he was admitted to the bar in 1837. He practiced his profession at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, from 1839 to 1844, when he removed to Lee county, Iowa. He became secretary of the council of the seventh and eighth territorial legislatures, and also district attorney. On the admission of the State he was appointed associate judge of the supreme court dating from June 12, 1847, and reappointed Jan. 26, 1848. On the 8th of the following December he was elected to the same position by the general assembly for six years. In 1853 President Pierce appointed him chief justice of the supreme court of Utah. After serving until 1857 he removed to Nebraska, where he practiced law until 1860, when President Buchanan reappointed him chief justice of Utah, in which place he served until 1863, when he was elected delegate from that territory to the thirty-eighth congress without opposition. He served until 1865, and then removed to San Diego, Cal., where he spent the remainder of his days, though he held some appointments under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. While in Iowa he earned proud distinction as an independent, learned and able jurist.

TYLER P. WALDEN was born in Adams county, Ohio, June 13, 1846; he died in Allerton, Wayne county, Iowa, Sept. 16, 1902. He came to Lee county, Iowa, when a child, with his family. In the sixties he removed to Wayne county, where he afterwards lived. He served as deputy county auditor for several years. In 1874 he organized and became cashier of the first bank ever established in Allerton. He was elected a member of the 29th general assembly, and was recognized as a useful member of that body.

JAMES C. ADAMS was born in Bourbon county, Ky., August 23, 1842; he died at Cresco, Iowa, Nov. 10, 1902. He began his apprenticeship at the printer's trade at the age of 12 in Clinton, Ill., and remained in newspaper work throughout his life. At the breaking out of the civil war he left college to enlist in Co. F, 41st Ill. volunteer infantry, serving through the war. In the years immediately following he engaged in newspaper work in Eureka, Ill., and in Columbus, Miss. At the latter place he had some thrilling experiences at the hands of the Kuklux. In 1871 he established *The Delta* at Avoca, Iowa. He was very actively in favor of prohibition, speaking and working for the cause constantly. His contest with the railroads because of their exorbitant rates of transportation resulted in a great saving to those in his vicinity. In 1883 he removed to Dakota. Here he supported the cause of the admission of the Dakotas as states. He was elected to the territorial senate and was a member of the constitutional convention. In 1893 he purchased *The Howard County Times*, at Cresco, where he afterwards resided. During forty years of active political and public life he was an unselfish worker for every good cause, without regard to personal interest or remuneration.

JOSEPH C. STONE was born in Westport, N. Y., July 30, 1829; he died suddenly at Burlington, Dec. 3, 1902. He came to Iowa territory in 1844 with his parents, who settled in Le Claire, Scott county, where some of his family yet live and where his father and grandfather died. The young man attended the medical department of the St. Louis University, where he graduated in 1854. When the Crimean war broke out he secured a commission in the Russian service and remained abroad for more than a year. He then engaged in the practice of his profession at Iowa City. He was appointed by Governor Grimes, Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1857, and served for a short time. At the breaking out of the war he enlisted as a private in the First Iowa Cavalry; subsequently he became captain, assistant adjutant general, major and lieutenant-colonel. He remained in the service until the end of the struggle. He then settled in Burlington, which city was his home the remainder of his life. In 1867 he was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress, but retired after but one term of service. He succeeded George W. McCrary and was succeeded by Moses A. McCoid. The deceased physician had long been looked upon as one of the leading surgeons in southeastern Iowa.

CALVIN P. HOLMES was born in Madison county, N. Y., in 1839; he died at Des Moines, Iowa, Dec. 23, 1902. When a small boy his parents removed to Ohio, where he was educated in the common schools. In 1854 he came with the family to Maquoketa, Iowa. After graduating from the Academy at that place, he studied law and was admitted to the bar at De Witt, Clinton county. He began practice at Anamosa. In 1863 he came to Des Moines and for four years filled the position of deputy under his brother, Hon. William H. Holmes, who had been elected State treasurer in 1862. Another brother, Rev. O. A. Holmes, was long prominent in the Baptist Church of Iowa, and one of the founders of Des Moines College. He afterwards resumed the practice of law in Des Moines. He served on the city council and at one time as city solicitor, and for many years was the counsel for what is now the Chicago Great Western Railroad. In 1890 he was elected district judge and for twelve years served in that capacity. His repeated elections give the highest evidence of the universal esteem in which he was held. In November, 1902, he was re-elected for a fourth term by a large vote.

DEBORAH ELLYSON was born at Damascus, Ohio, May 15, 1816; she died at Des Moines, Iowa, Oct. 3, 1902. In 1842 she was married to Jonathan

Wright Cattell. Four years later they removed to Springdale, Cedar county, Iowa. He was elected to the State Senate in 1856, and as State Auditor in 1858. He then removed to Des Moines, which became the permanent residence of the family. Mr. Cattell was a man of much note in public affairs. He held the office of Auditor of State six years, and was elected State Senator by Polk county in 1865, holding that position four years. He was noted for his intimate and comprehensive knowledge of State affairs, and was often mentioned as "a walking cyclopedia of Iowa information." He died in 1887. Mrs. Cattell was a leader in temperance reform and as such was widely known. She was one of the founders of the Equal Suffrage Society of Polk county. In whatever work she engaged she was always active and zealous. Her circle of friends was co-extensive with her acquaintance, and her death called forth expressions of the deepest sympathy and respect. Though living to good old age the deaths of both Mr. and Mrs. Cattell were due to accidents.

ROBERT EMMETT CARPENTER was born in Harford, Pa., August 13, 1834; he died at Long Beach, Cal., November 6, 1902. He was a graduate of the Wyoming, Pennsylvania, Seminary. In 1852 he came to Iowa and engaged in business with his brother, Gov. C. C. Carpenter at Ft. Dodge. During the gold fever period he went west, remaining for some time in Colorado and later teaching school in Texas. When the war broke out he enlisted with an Iowa regiment and served a short time. He was for several years deputy county treasurer of Webster county, and also served as clerk of the board of supervisors. In 1880 he was appointed superintendent of the National Yellowstone Park, but after a short period it passed under military control. Mr. Carpenter then went to Watertown, S. D., where he edited *The Courier News* for six years. He was also receiver of the U. S. Land Office at that place. He afterwards made his home in Des Moines for some time, but some five years ago returned to Ft. Dodge. He was a fine speaker and prominent in political circles in both Iowa and South Dakota.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SNOOK was born in McArthur county, Ohio, June 20, 1835; he died in Webster City, Iowa, Dec. 4, 1902. When a child his parents removed to Indiana and settled on a farm near Crawfordsville, where he grew to manhood. In 1855 he came with his parents to Iowa, locating in Mahaska county. With the exception of four years, he had since been a resident of this State. In early life he joined the Christian Church and became a minister in the denomination; somewhat later he united with the Seventh Day Adventists. But about thirty-five years ago he became a Universalist, and during his long ministry in this church he labored in many different towns, including Vinton, Cedar Rapids, Tipton, Cedar Falls, Bloomfield, Clarinda, Iowa Falls, Steamboat Rock, Storm Lake and Webster City. In 1880 he went abroad. After his return he spent much of his time lecturing on his travels in Palestine.

WILLIAM K. BARKER was born in Thorntown, Indiana, Nov. 15, 1843; he died at Cresco, Iowa, Nov. 11, 1902. In 1857 he removed with his parents to Iowa, settling on a farm near the present town of Cresco. When the war broke out he enlisted in Co. B, Seventh Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and served throughout the war. He spent some years after the war teaching, farming and reading law. In 1877 he was admitted to the practice of the law. From 1887 to 1890 he served as county attorney of Howard county. He was elected a member of the 29th general assembly, and was considered one of the ablest members of the House. He served on several important committees and was a member of the joint commission appointed to edit the new code supplement.

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